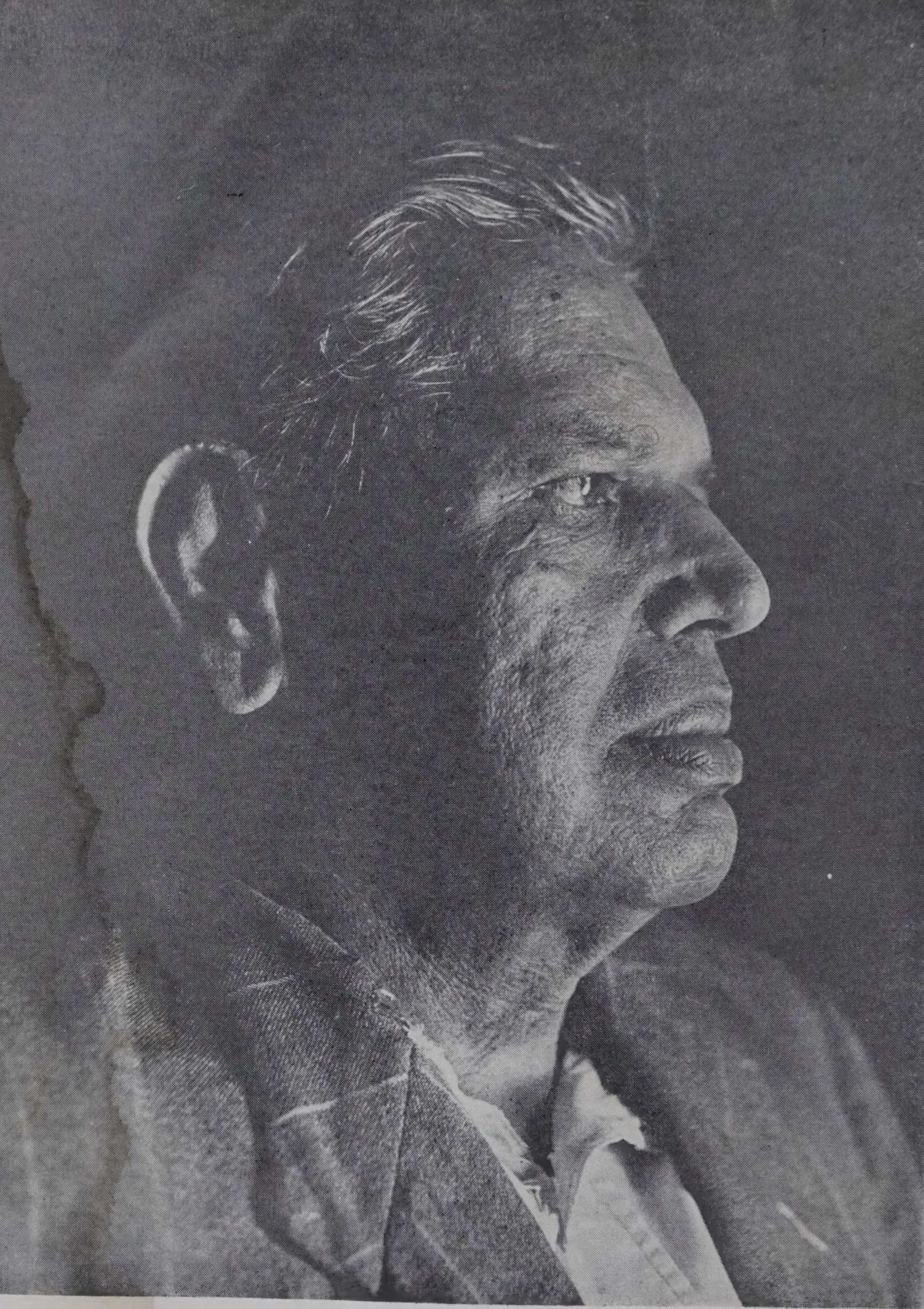
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DR S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI

FELICITATION VOLUME



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DR S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI

FELICITATION VOLUME

GEETHA BOOK HOUSE : MYSORE

on behalf of

DR S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI FELICITATION COMMITTEE

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DR. SRIKANTHA SASTRI—THE MAN AND HIS WORKS

ON BEHALF OF THE COMMITTEE

PROF. S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A., D.Litt., is one of the very few historians of Karnataka of national and even international repute. A scholar with the knowledge of several languages and scores and scores of research papers, besides several books, to his credit, Dr. Sastri has thousands of students all over the country, who have benefitted largely from his scholarly discourses in and outside the classroom. His service to the cause of research in the history and culture of India in general and of Karnataka in particular has been memorable.

Students and admirers of Dr. Sastri desired to felicitate him on the eve of his 68th birthday which occurred on 4-11-1972. An informal meeting of some of them was held in the month of March 1972 in the residence of Sri K. T. Veerappa, Executive Editor, Kannada Encyclopaedia. It was then decided to bring out a volume of research papers pertaining to several aspects of Karnataka's history and culture, which should be presented to Dr. Srikantha Sastri in a felicitation function. A Felicitation Committee with several other members outside Mysore also was organised for this purpose. Prof. D. Javare Gowda, Vice-chancellor, Mysore University kindly agreed to be its chairman. Dr. T. V. Venkatachala Sastri and Dr. B. K. Gururaja Rao were nominated as the Secretaries and Sri K. T. Veerappa as the Treasurer of the Committee. It was decided to fix the pre-publication price of the felicitation volume at Rs. 25.

Appeals were sent out for donations and contributions. A number of scholars were also requested to contribute research papers pertaining to Karnataka. The response was very encouraging. About Rs. 9,000 were collected from our donors and we received about 70 research papers. We express our heartfelt thanks to all our contributors for their valuable co-operation. The present volume contains 58 articles. Since some of the papers received could not be fitted into the pattern, they could not be included herein. We beg the authors of those papers to pardon us for this.

The entire matter had to be arranged under several headings, and edited before it could be sent to the press. In this we have received assistance from Dr. H. M. Nayak, Dr. B. Sheik Ali, Sri G. R. Rangaswamaiah, Dr. A. V. Venkataratnam and Dr. A. V. Narasimha Murthy. Also, Dr. K. B. Ramakrishna Rao, Sri G. Srinivasan, Sri S. Nagaraju, Sri M. Hanumantha Rao and Sri

Lakshminarayan have helped us in this regard. Just before the printing work commenced, Dr. Gururaja Rao left Mysore to join the Karnatak University, Dharwar. But, since Dr. B. R. Gopal of that University had just two months earlier joined the Mysore University, as Epigraphist, the work could be continued unhindered. Dr. Gopal and Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore had to share the major burden of editing the papers before they were sent to the press and also of proof reading. They have undertaken this as a labour of love. The Felicitation Committee offers its special thanks to these two, the result of whose effort and interest could be seen in this volume.

In spite of our hurry, the printing work could not be completed before the third week of December. The Committee once again met thereafter and resolved to celebrate the function on 15-1-1973.

The Committee mourns the sad demise of one of its members, Dr. M. Seshadri, himself a student of Dr. Sastri, before the release of this volume. Prof. D. Javare Gowda, the Vice-chancellor has all along shown great interest in our work and encouraged us. We are deeply obliged to him for writing a weighty foreword to this volume. Due to his personal interest and thanks to the goodwill of the members of the Syndicate and the officials of the Mysore University, we received a grant of Rs. 1,000 towards the cost of printing of this volume. The Committee is grateful to them all. Dr. H. M. Nayak, the Director of the Institute of Kannada Studies has all along been a source of inspiration. It was he who arranged for the printing of this volume at the Mysore Printing and Publishing House, and gave us suggestions in regard to the size, get-up etc., of this volume. In fact, it was he who suggested the title of the volume Srikanthika. Sri K. T. Veerappa has not only kept the treasury but has identified himself with all other works. Sriyuths P. N. N. Murthy, R. L. Anantharamaiah and others have helped us in collecting funds.

The title has been engraved in early characters by Dr. K. V. Ramesh and the cover page is designed by the artist Sri K. L. Venkatesh. The printing has been neatly and beautifully done by Sri G. H. Krishnamurthy of the Mysore Printing and Publishing House. He has patiently endured all our troubles. Messrs Geetha Book House have willingly come forward to publish the volume.

To all these and several others unnamed, the Committee is beholden for the success it has achieved in bringing out this volume and felicitating Dr. S. Srikanta Sastri. May God bestow upon him health, long-life and prosperity.

January 15, 1973
Mysore

T. V. Venkatachala Sastri
B. K. Gururaja Rao
Secretaries

FOREWORD

The greatness of a University is gauged not by its quantitative strength in terms of buildings, teachers and students, but by the quality of research work done and the intellectual pursuits attained by the research scholars and teachers. From this point of view the Mysore University can proudly claim a place of distinction among many other Universities in India. The devout votaries of knowledge and the intellectual luminaries like Dr. Srikantha Sastry are mainly instrumental for the reputation of this great University. Scholarship is nothing but intellectual ability coupled with industry and devotion to duty. Srikantha Sastry has been really the embodiment of these qualities. His whole life has been dedicated to the pursuit of truth and the acquisition of knowledge.

Even before I entered the Maharaja's College as a student of the Honours Class in the year 1938 Srikantha Sastry had reached the pinnacle of glory as a great scholar. His knowledge of History was phenomenal and encyclopædic in character. A good number of books both in English and Kannada and as many as four hundred articles on Indian History, Culture, Language and Literature bear ample testimony to his varied interest, profound scholarship and recondite erudition. He treaded the entire gamut of Karnataka History and Culture like a colossus. Sincerity, honesty and truthfulness are the hallmark of his scholarship. One may reverentially disagree with the views expressed by him, as, for example, on the original home of the Aryans, the Aryan Civilisation and even on Purandaradasa. Nobody disputes his intellectual abilities or sincerity of purpose. His scholarship is neither a shadow nor an imitation of some great personality. He is undisputedly an original thinker and a meticulous and austere seeker of truth.

Though he is a person who shuns publicity he permits anybody without any reservation to unlock the store-house of his vast knowledge. Nobody returns from him disappointed. He has a ready answer to any doubt lurking in the minds of scholars or students. If a person needing solutions to his problems happens to be far away from him he need only spend twenty five naya paise for a stamp. The reply is there within three or four days. This is my experience too.

It is really very fitting that a man of his stature who has spent the long years of his life at the altar of the Goddess Saraswati should be honoured by presenting a Commemoration Volume. I am

extremely happy to find that all the articles published in this volume relate to Karnataka History and Culture which are very dear to Prof. Srikantha Sastry. All the articles are decidedly the result of deep study, long research and fieldwork. They present a very useful material for the research worker as well as the student of History. In a way it can be said that it is an encyclopædia of Karnataka History. I should congratulate the editors and the contributors for having taken lot of pains to bring forth this volume in as short a period as possible.

On this happy occasion one is constrained to feel sincerely whether we should remain contented with the presentation of this volume to Dr. Srikantha Sastry. No. What about the stupendous number of his articles which form sources of Karnataka and Indian History and which are scattered over a large number of magazines and journals? I sincerely think that the best way to honour him appropriately is by compiling his works and publishing them in as many volumes as possible. It is not for his sake that we should publish them, but for the sake of posterity and in the interest of the development of scholarship and research in the respective fields. The University of Mysore will certainly consider the possibility of publishing the articles in book form if the author is agreeable. It will certainly be a matter of great pleasure and pride for me to associate myself in this sacred task.

May Prof. Srikantha Sastry and his works be a beacon light and source of inspiration for all the scholars in India in general and Karnataka in particular for many many years to come!

January 10, 1973
Mysore

D. JAVARE GOWDA
Vice-Chancellor

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

1

Some Problems in the Study of Art and Architecture

T. V. MAHALINGAM

THE study of the art and architecture of any country is fascinating and absorbing and especially so of India where the extant examples show much richness and variety. Though one finds in architecture a repetition of structural principles and in sculpture an almost faithful adherence to canonical injunctions, it is clearly seen that the architect and the artist rise above these limitations to express their creative urge and give scope to their capacity for inventiveness. While 'architecture' concerns itself with the raising of structure, 'art' is wider in its import and includes in its field almost all forms of creative enterprise, though in our present consideration it is restricted to graphic and plastic arts only. It is difficult to dissociate art and architecture from each other. The unity of sculptural and architectural expression is one of the sublime achievements of ancient India. Take for instance the facades of the Pallava rock-cut caves where friezes of miniature replicas of shrines are essentially sculptural in character bringing out elegantly the outlines and profiles of the excavation. In fact a rock-cut cave or a monolith is sculpt out and not constructed and hence it is both a sculptural and architectural expression.

It is generally taken that architecture in Tamilnadu started with the early caves of the Pallavas which, after passing through successive stages of development in detail and dimension during the Chola and Pandya periods, culminated in the structures of the Vijayanagar and Nayak periods in South Indian history. Our knowledge of the different stages in the evolution of architecture in the Tamil country is still very slender. A scientific and comprehensive study of this development will be possible only after a detailed survey of all the extant monuments, or at least of the more representative among them in each period and sub-period in the different parts of the area is completed by competent scholars. This is a challenging and time-consuming task and its fulfilment is bound to remain a distant goal for several years to come, not withstanding the fact that there are now a number of archaeological agencies at work. This point has to be borne in mind, because the scope of the subject is so vast and the available material on the

same so abundant, that even after several years of painstaking survey and sustained study and research the field remains virgin, so much so the curious scholar and the interested public have at present to satisfy themselves only with some tentative conclusions reached on the basis of insufficient data.

The main features observed in the progress of art and architecture in Tamilnadu as gleaned from this incomplete material are generally known to scholars and do not need repetition here. On the other hand, this paper aims to create a brief acquaintance with certain problems facing us in our study of art and architecture in South India and the subjectivity against which an art-historian must necessarily guard himself. The study of architecture must be more than descriptive. The architecture of a region has to be studied with reference to that in the adjacent area and the monuments of other religions so that their influence if any on it may be properly perceived.

One of the major difficulties an art-historian of Tamilnadu has to face is the non-existence of any monument datable to a period prior to the seventh century A.D. The cave temple at Mandagapattu is generally taken to be the very first rock-cut excavation in the south. This view is not shared by a few who ascribe the cave shrine at Pillaiyarpatti in the Ramanathapuram District to the fifth or sixth century A.D. Even if it is conceded that the Mandagapattu cave was not the first attempt and that incipient instances of earlier enterprises can be noticed in the south, the fact remains that the Tamil country does not possess very early monuments comparable to the early Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu ones in the areas to the north of Tamilnadu. This is obviously because the earlier monuments were made of perishable material and they naturally succumbed to the ravages of time. Even brick temples to which we get inscriptional evidence of an early period have not survived in most cases. Structural forms of different kinds were not unknown to the early Tamils. King Senganan is said to have constructed as many as seventy four temples along both the banks of the river Kaveri. Probably he lived in the fifth or early sixth century A.D. The Sangam literature mentions such terms as *kottam*, *nagaram*, *madam*, *kovil*, *pali*, *palli* etc. associated with constructions. We have reference to *makaratorana* lintel and *sikhara* in the *Ahananuru* while the *Purananuru* mentions one of the components of a temple, the *garbhagrha*. In the present state of knowledge the art-historian of ancient Tamilagam has to content himself only with such literary references without any extant or supporting evidence. This is a serious handicap because if one is to go only by the extant evidences, as one should when more than one opinion prevails regarding the chronology and age of these literary works, the art-

history of the Tamil region starts at a relatively late stage. This gap may in future be filled by the findings in archaeological excavations in the area. It is encouraging to note that a few excavations conducted in the Tamil country have been helpful in supplying data to fill the gap. But more work is necessary.

With the inauguration of a vigorous structural movement under the Pallavas and their contemporaries, Tamilnadu begins to have an important place in the architectural map of the country. And from then onwards development of architecture in the Tamil country was continuous and phenomenal. It is difficult to isolate this progress from the main current of the development of Indian art, as it was never exclusive in nature, in spite of its regional characteristics. And as a result, we find that art in this region, as in other regions, is basically religious and symbolic. This has led many to pay somewhat an over-attention to symbolism and iconographic details to the relative neglect of aesthetic qualities and technical details. This is not to suggest that idealism and iconographic details are to be dispensed with in our pursuits, but only to emphasise that the rhythm, form and technique of art products should receive the treatment they richly deserve. A real appreciation of this aspect can stem only from concentration on and special attention to the aesthetic qualities peculiar to the art styles in different regions during different periods. In other words a regional and chronological approach is essential in a study of art and architecture.

This naturally brings us to the question of dating of monuments and sculptures, as the question of chronology is intertwined with that of regional and epochal styles. Generally speaking the problem of dating is solved mainly with the aid of stylistic features and decorative details of such art objects. This is of course a workable expedient, but at times this approach bristles with certain difficulties, not all of which are easy of solution. For instance, the particular or peculiar way in which the *yajnopavita* (sacred thread) was shown over the right arm in many images in Pallava temples is considered by some as a characteristic 'Pallava' feature, though there is nothing exceptionally 'Pallava' about it, since this trait is seen in a number of later images also. Again certain details like the lion-head clasp that are supposedly characteristic of the Chola period are found in some earlier examples like the sculptures in the Kailasanatha temple at Kanchipuram.

The futility of depending exclusively on drapery and decorative features has perhaps not been brought out more clearly by any image than the linga in the Parasurameswara temple at Gudimallam (Chittor District) which has posed many tantalizing problems in the study of certain aspects of religion and art in South India. The

image here is both iconic and aniconic as a male figure, usually identified with Siva who is represented in it as the very personification of the linga and shown as such. It was assigned by a few scholars to the first century B.C. on the basis of the supposed similarity of the decorative details and physiognomy of the figure to those of the sculptures from Sanchi and Bharhut. But recent studies have tended to show that this image is assignable to a much later period, roughly to about the fifty or sixth century A.D. It would therefore be evident that the earlier date of the Gudimallam linga suggested on the basis of decorative details it bears, is about five or six centuries earlier than its real or probable date.

It is equally risky to depend exclusively on iconographic characteristics as many early images were cast or sculpt out at a time when iconographic injunctions were still in the process of crystallization with considerable scope for flexibility in the rendering of details.

Therefore the aim of the art-historian is to make a co-ordinated study of all available material, each one of them supplementing another to arrive at a broad picture of the development of the different patterns of art. And in this regard inscriptions play a significant role as some of the architectural and sculptural examples are datable precisely or with as near precision as possible on epigraphical basis. The Narasimha cave at Anamalai and the Subramanya cave at Tirupparan-kunram are respectively assignable to 770 and 773 A.D. as may be seen from the evidence of the foundation inscriptions in them. The Kadambavanesvara temple at Erumbur and the Sivalokanatha shrine at Gramam were constructed respectively in 935 and 943 A.D. The sculptures in these temples should presumably be chronologically coeval with their architecture unless a conclusion to the contrary is otherwise warranted. It is now known that some bronze icons in the temple at Konerirajapuram and a few unearthed at Tiruvankadu (both in the Thanjavur District) are datable with the help of inscriptions which mention their dedication. But these accurately datable temples and images are exceptional, the vast majority of them being datable only on stylistic and other considerations. The special merit of the accurately datable images lies in the fact that a study of their features in relation to sculptures with similar characteristics would help in arriving at the probable dates of the latter. The study of art-history without inscriptions will be misleading, while a co-ordinated attempt in using epigraphical, stylistic, iconographic and other allied data wiil be a more acceptable and scientific approach to a study of the complex question of the determination of their date.

Another problem closely associated with the question of dating is the dynastic label that is often given to art products. As the

Tamil country and its peripheral regions were ruled by the Pallavas, Cholas, Pandyas and Vijayanagar rulers besides the rulers of a number of minor dynasties in historical times the date of the art products made during the successive centuries is given in relation to the dynasty which was holding hegemony in the different areas during the period of their making. Thus an image is said to be a 'Pallava piece' or a 'Chola specimen' or 'Vijayanagar product' to indicate that its date of making synchronised with the period when the Pallava, Chola or Vijayanagar power was supreme. But in many cases, this dynastic label is bound to be misleading as instances of the period of a dynasty overlapping that of another are not uncommon in South Indian History. For example, the Pallava tail-enders appear to have lingered on for quite sometime in the tenth century, while Vijayalaya, the earliest known member of the Imperial Chola dynasty has been assigned to a date in the mid-ninth century A.D. It is, therefore, obvious that for about six or seven decades Pallava rule in the Tondaimandalam in Northern Tamilnadu synchronised with Chola sway in the region, south of it; and as contemporary inscriptions well indicate, the political border-line between the two was fluid. Therefore, it would not be quite correct to call the images of the same period as 'Pallava' or 'Chola' on the basis of only their provenance, unless such a categorization is warranted by the presence of what may be called 'area elements' that are found in the art products of certain regions. Though to call an image after a dynasty may be convenient, the inherent weakness in giving implied predominance to political history, ignoring the more important cultural and artistic currents in the area, should not be lost sight of. This will be clear from the following example. The Virattanesvara temple at Tiruttani (Chingleput District) was built during the period of the last Pallava king Aparajita in the first quarter of the tenth century and hence it is taken to be a Pallava structure. But, the temple, so far as its general layout and style are concerned, is a departure from all the previous constructions of the Pallava period and seems to bear the features of the new style that had already been evolved in the Chola area even some fifty years earlier. Thus, there is nothing specially 'Pallava' about the Virattanesvara temple except its foundation.

It is also necessary to mention here that the monuments in the regions under the sway of powers like the Gangas, Nolambas, Irukkuvels and Muttaraiyars, to mention only a few, reveal some local traits, showing thereby their distinctiveness. Perhaps, it may not be too much to say that within Tamilnadu itself we find some regional schools and idioms showing subtle variations in treatment, though their sculptural composition may be a common one. For instance, one may find a Gangadhara or a Trivikrama or a Nataraja

or a Durga in different regions and belonging to the same period, each indicating local variations in the material tackled and the mode of treatment. Therefore, to summarily categorize an image or a monument after a dynasty in the light of its provenance without sifting through its diverse lineaments and traits is a tendency which the art-historian must learn to resist. Neither the provenance nor the date nor other associated data should be studied in isolation. Rather the classification of monuments on a regional basis, with an eye on chronology, keeping in mind relevant historical details would help us in dispensing with the difficulties inherent in dynastic denominations. However, a dynastic label may not be inappropriate to those monuments that are concentrated in one place or a contiguous area on account of the architectural activities of a single dynasty, as a result of which they fall within a definite time bracket. The Mahabalipuram monuments with the Pallava denomination may be cited as a good example illustrative of the point.

Another point that merits our attention here is the comparative neglect the Pandyan monuments have suffered in the study of the art history of South India. The Pandyan contribution to 'rock architecture' is considerable and we have a large number of caves besides a monolith. The structural temples at Tirukkurankudi, Tirukkoshthiyur, Uttarakosamangai, Ambasamudram, Ukkirankottai, etc., may be called typical Pandyan structures belonging to the formative period of its architectural history. The study of the Pandyan monuments is handicapped by the numerous problems in Pandyan genealogy and chronology, but this cannot be an insuperable difficulty as far as a study of the early Pandyan monuments are concerned. This is a promising and long awaiting field requiring careful survey and study.

It may not be out of place to underline here the importance of the scientific study of technical literature, pertaining to art and architecture. Works like the *Grihya Sutras* and *Sulba Sutras*, the *Puranas* like the *Matsya*, *Skanda*, *Agni*, *Garuda*, etc., the *Agamas* like the *Kamikagama*, *Karanagama*, *Suprabhedagama*, *Pancharatra*, *Vaikhanasa*, etc., besides the *Isanagurudevapaddhati*, *Chaturvargachintamani*, *Visvakarmaprakasa*, *Aparajitaprichcha*, *Rupamandana*, *Samarangana-sutradhara*, *Mayamata*, *Manasara*, *Prayogamanjari*, *Silparatna*, *Kasyapa-silpa*, *Tantrasamuchchaya* etc., deal with the subject in its various aspects. There is no unanimity of opinion among scholars regarding the dates of many of these treatises, but even then they are useful in the classification of temples on a typological basis. An illustrated edition of each of these treatises explaining with necessary drawings the technical details given in them and their place in the structure will be immensely useful. Some work has been done on them but much remains yet to be done.

It is encouraging to note that in recent years there has been considerable output in research in Indian art—an achievement which has been considerably facilitated by the setting up of the Archaeological Departments by State Governments and some Universities where they were not previously in existence, and the Temple Survey projects by the Archaeological Survey of India. The Temple Survey Project (South) has been doing much useful work and its first publication on the cave temples of the Pallavas by K. R. Srinivasan is a valuable one. Other monuments on a regional basis are now being surveyed and studied. The necessity for an Encyclopaedia of Indian Art and Iconography is being increasingly felt; and obviously an ambitious project of this kind cannot be undertaken by an individual or perhaps even by a single institution but requires the collective effort of many specialists spread throughout the country. The different archaeological agencies can join together in preparing a regionwise catalogue of sculptures and bronzes kept in different temples. Besides serving as descriptive catalogues of antiquities they will be useful as inventories in an age of increasing illicit traffic in art products. No serious scholar can content himself with a study of only a few specimens in museums and some well-known temples and generalize without objectively examining the enormous mass that still remains unexplored; nor can every individual be in a position to visit each and every village for purposes of such study. It is in this connection that the idea of preparing a catalogue of *in situ* antiquities acquires significance and compels our attention. This is again a task which cannot be fulfilled by one agency alone in an atmosphere of urgency facing us and calls for the co-ordinated attempts of many. Some of the thoughts expressed above will I hope receive the attention and consideration they merit. If work on the different aspects of South Indian art and architecture is done in a planned and co-ordinated way by knowledgeable scholars interested in the subject they would be doing a great service to the subject.

The points raised above mainly with reference to the study of art and architecture in Tamilnadu are equally applicable to the study of the same in other regions in South India. For instance the Karnataka region is rich in a variety of monuments, the architectural features of which are not the same. Though some descriptive study of some of the important monuments in the Karnataka country has been made there is much need and scope for a chronological study of the monuments in great depth to bring out a picture of their evolution through the ages with particular reference not only to the regional idioms noticeable in them, but also to the influences that made them what they were.

[Presidential Address delivered at the Art and Architecture Section in the Seminar on Archaeology held in the Madura University in 1970.]

2

The Satavahana Legacy in Indian Art

K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN

A STUDY of the respective art-repertory of Tamilnadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh reveals that the political boundaries and art traditions followed identical patterns. This would mean that the consolidation of art traditions had taken place after the political configuration of the areas had stabilized. This, together with the known facts that in the early centuries of the Christian Era, the Satavahana empire covered practically all these three zones and more into one cultural-political frame-work and had even a vogue of a uniform prakrit dialectal vogue in language (literature as well as of the inscribed records), would underscore two points. Firstly, the Satavahana empire was the cultural water-shed of the urban civilization that blossomed in the peninsula in the early historic times and became the progenitor matrix of the present Southern Indian heritage. Secondly, the art schools that emanated after the close of the Satavahana empire largely, though not mainly, diversified the trends and genius of the Satavahana art-ateliers, and found fresh channels of expression in the new regional contexts, consequent upon separate empires rising in the three linguistic areas of Karnataka, Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D. These two aspects are significant and would call for some elaboration.

The archaeological situation in the centuries just preceding the Christian epoch in the peninsula was largely conditioned by an indigenous, robust, but unsophisticated and rural cultural substratum, highlighted by an ostentatious and structurally prolix sepulchral architecture called by prehistorians as 'megaliths'. This culture was itself having a claim to wide earlier contacts with the northerly regions of the peninsula, and even of Northern India. It was practising agriculture, cattle breeding and other pastoral-tribal propensities in living conditions, and had a specialised Iron metallurgical outfit. It does not appear to have been involved with any religious, ritual or fetishistic practices in its framework, if the near-total absence of any stone, terracotta or metal objects likely to

suggest such a potentiality is any clue.[1] The Satavahana empire, having been reared on this culture-terrain, from the Narmada to the Kaveri, was able to invest it with a maritime trade bias for the first time in this region. For this, it was largely drawing from the commercial *elite* who had effusively and extensively patronised Buddhism, primarily, in a large part of the peninsula, and Jainism to some extent which latter had occupied, in the first instance, certain border areas of the Satavahana empire as at South Bihar and Kalinga, in the original home of Jainism and Buddhism in South and South-east Bihar. The impulses that kindled the metropolitan and urban urges in the Satavahana empire were thus the vanguard movements of these new and rebel religions which were centrifugal from the main stream of Vedic and Brahmanical Hinduism. This cultural context, therefore, patterned a new series of movements in the indigenous matrix, now that, to the peasant and pastoral mould, a religious or ethical-cultural dimension had been added. Thus it could almost be averred that if the Satavahana empire had not brought within its overall influence a larger part of the peninsula, and had not imbued it with a *sea-faring bias,* and if the commercial *elite* given to such sea-faring had not found a new glamour in the catholic religious purposes in the Buddhist-Jain creeds, the story of the peninsula would have been one of continued pastoral-tribal matrix, without much of redeeming or rejuvenating *avant garde* movements. The Satavahana empire equally well fostered the ritual brahmanical Hinduism with which it had some beneficial involvement, as some of the kings who were not born kshatriyas were able to raise their status by the performance of appropriate *Asvamedha* and other rituals. The Gangetic Valley which produced the post-vedic, as well as the Jain and the Buddhistic creeds, was the Northern border area of the Satavahanas, in their heyday in the 1st century B.C. and it was natural that an accumulation and diffusion of the fresh religious and historical trends took place and found the peninsula a culturally receptive haven. The local 'megalithic' folk of the peninsula, overnight as it were, got the means for a well-equipped and enduring civic community. It should be clearly understood that the 'megalithic' pastoralism, the maritime trends of the Satavahanas and the advent of religious tenets, alike of Hinduism as of Jainism and Buddhism, into the peninsula, were fraught with further revolutionary results in the centuries that followed, and the monarchical traditions of the Satavahanas themselves paved the way, after the fall of that empire and fragmentation into several local lines, into a resuscitation of

[1] The rare case of certain bronze animal and bird effigies in the Adichchanallur graves does not appear to point to any organised religion but perhaps only to some totem aspects.

the large hegemony idea, in the lower South atleast, as is clearly manifest in the Pallava and Pandya empires between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D., and later, of the Chola of the 9th century A.D. The earlier eclecticism that prevailed in the Pallava period seeing the continuance of Jainism and Buddhism side by side, was also the result of this legacy and it is seen that from the early medieval times, such a religious harmony had ceased to exist in Tamilnadu. Even within Hindus sectarian conflict had started. What was only nationally, and on a representative oligarchical basis, the empire under the Mauryas, extending over a large part of the peninsula in the centuries before Christ, was physically and emotionally fitted into a unified colonial hegemony under the Satavahanas, over a large part of the Deccan peninsula, and was to be followed by more socially and culturally organised, though somewhat smaller, empires of the Pallavas and Pandyas.

The period between the 1st century A.D., and the 5th century A.D. was thus one of great sea-change, and had to be seen in the context of its own *heritage* as well as *legacy*. The heritage was just an extension of the efficient urban expansion of the Satavahana culture and the legacy was that it produced from an oligarchy of the Mauryas and the hegemony of the Satavahanas, firm dynasties, both in the Deccan, such as the Chalukyas, Kalachuris and Rashtrakutas—and in the South—as of the Pallavas, Pandyas and the Cholas.

From a socio-cultural angle, it is hardly necessary to over-emphasise that art impulses grow faster only when fostered under the distinguished and discerning patronage of the kings or the social *elite*. The period between the 1st and the 5th centuries A.D., was, though involving a break-up of the Satavahana hegemony and loose politico-economic frame-work, the threshold for an era of considerable art expansion, because the Buddhist, the Jain and the Brahmanical religions were finding new channels of expression. The first mentioned, of course, spread in a big way in Andhra Pradesh as well as Northern Deccan, thanks to the mobility of religious exchange media through the expansion of trade routes in the Deccan chalked out earlier under the Satavahanas. This welded even such far-separated clans like the Visnukundins of Vijayawada and the Vakatakas of Ajanta into kinship patterns. Political considerations, of course, prevailed in this, but contacts had been widened making this possible. Thus, without any bickering or even a deliberate rivalry, the three religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism sought fresh fields and pastures new in the peninsula and were to systematize their own characteristic idioms, in due course, thus building up an iconographic tradition which was to endure. In much the same way as the Gupta-Kushana art traditions of upper

India were the bed-rock upon which much of the consequent schools of art in the Uttarapatha was built up and expanded, the Satavahana art-bequeathal in the countless Buddhistic centres of its realm became the grass roots for the growth of South Indian religious art. It is, however, somewhat interesting that in that period and upto the 6th century A.D. Buddhism chose Andhra Pradesh primarily, Jainism Karnataka and Brahmanical Hinduism Tamilnadu for their articulations. The Satavahana idioms, in this regard, were so all-embracive in their range, detail and social purpose that they were well and truly complementary to the Kushana idioms and formed a very instructive parallel also and had fostered both trade and creed in the same breath, with a stamp of sophistication and maturity of delineation.

Wherever the Kushana and Satavahana art chose soft rocks as the raw materials largely, they produced vigorous and hefty personalities in its modelling. But the Satavahanas alone had the credit of working both on 'live' trap rock and detached greenish grey limestone and the latter, because of its very nature, tends to sublimate the subject and soften the contours. It was thus that the art of Amaravati became an essay in sheer sublimity, while the rock-cut art of Karla, Bhaja etc., of the same Satavahanas was an exercise in ponderosity and stature. The rise of the other art schools, such as the Kshatrapa and the Vakataka, Kalachuri and Chalukya in Central India and the Deccan, and of the early Pallava, Pandya etc., in the lower South, had a direct degree of obligation to the art of the Satavahanas (and of course of the Kushanas and Guptas in respect of the first two dynasties of the former group) to the extent the nearness of the centres and models influenced them. We find that the early Chalukyan art reflects the heaviness, ruggedness and elemental charm, which are the hall-mark of the Western Deccan Satavahana art, while the early Pallava art, despite the difficulties implicit in the hard granite medium of its rock-cut art, was nearer to the Amaravati analogues of the Satavahanas in the liquidity of the stances and group composition. And when it chose, as in the early structural periods, sandstone itself, its visual and aesthetic values were very much nearer to the Amaravati school in mode as well as model. This is as it should be, in so far as the Pallavas were concerned, as the early home of the Pallavas was part of the Satavahana empire in the Krishna and Guntur Districts and thus they could, with some legitimacy, claim a right to follow the Satavahana art traditions. On the other hand, the Pandyas appear to have had their sources of contact with the Chalukyas and the Gangas of the Mysore country and this resulted in a slightly different art-impulse, theme and phraseology from that of the Pallavas and, indeed, on the religious plane also, the Pandyan country had been an early haven of

Jainism, as the Ganga country was just prior to that. The Tondaimandalam which was the primary home of the Pallavas of Kanchi, on the other hand, had been a compact region in terms of its religious affiliation and art-idioms. The thrust of post-vedic, ritual-oriented brahmanism from the Satavahana realm had found the *Eastern* flank buttressed by *Buddhism* in Andhra Pradesh and the *Western* flank by *Jainism*, in Karnataka and thus, following the line of least resistance, had flown into Tamilnadu and had found the terrain congenial, thanks largely to the uncommitted character of the region. At a slightly later stage, when the renascent Brahmanical Hinduism had swamped the whole of the lower Deccan and lower South, Tamilnadu became a completely Hindu empire, while Karnataka and Andhra had still their involvements with Jainism and Buddhism. With a comprehensive and deep-rooted Hindu matrix, Tamilnadu was even able to rear an overseas colony or empire in the Malayan archipelago and Indo-China. It is the maritime fervour shown by the Satavahanas of yore that was emulated in this distinctive manner by the Pallavas first, to be followed, later, by the Imperial Cholas. The Karnataka country, with its merchant guilds, like Aihole 500, was equally extensive and effective, while the Andhra area does not lay such a claim of external pockets of trade etc., in the period between 3rd century A.D. and 8th century A.D. At a later date, the coastal Andhra area almost fully integrated itself in religious art and architecture with that of Tamilnadu, while the Rayalaseema area, by its neighbourhood and other topographical factors, was closely akin to that of the Nolambas and of the Karnataka area. The viability of the three linguistic zones in relation to the three religious moorings they characterised, had been upset only by about the 7th century A.D., but, until then, they had reflected eloquently the Satavahana patrimony, and in social structure, the great migration that had systematically taken place in the North Tamilnadu for the Andhra country (between 3rd century A.D., and 9th century A.D.,) organised itself into an effective social structure in Tamilnadu.

The later stages of Amaravati art development, dated by scholars to 3rd century A.D., shows a southern regional nexus and indeed anticipates the early Pallava, on the one hand (more closely), and the early Chalukyan, on the other as in centres like Aihole, where the vestiges of Satavahana pottery have been forthcoming below the oldest temples like Ladkhan etc. The lovely rhythmic modelling of the figures especially, as in the early Pallava caves at Mahabalipuram, are directly based on the Amaravati values, whereas even the early Western Chalukya carvings seem to have had a degree of influence received from the Gupta modelling though tending to be somewhat heavier than the latter. Some of the

important parallelisms between Amaravati and Pallava modelling, as pointed by Shivaramamurti already, are seen in the jewelled cylindrical *kirita* worn by Vishnu in early Pallava art, to be traced back to the crown of *Sakka* in the Amaravati carving and, again, in the Buddha's head with *Ushnisha* and cluster of *curls* which adorn elsewhere the head of a cowherd milking the cow, in the Govardhana-dhara *bas-relief* in the Krishna Mandapa at Mahabalipuram. In the realm of coins, we have already several specimens of the famous bilingual coins in Prakrit and Tamil of Sri Satakarni, son of Vasisthiputra, found in various parts of Tamilnadu, indicating how the royal mint was alive to the close involvement of the Satavahana empire with its Southern zones which had rich and flourishing trade marts on the eastern coastal stretch. The Chengam (Andipatti in North Arcot District) hoard of lead coins, now acquired by the Madras Government Museum, is also directly influenced by Satavahana devices and traditions. Thus, the Satavahana empire virtually united and consolidated the Deccan and lower South into an enduring socio-cultural matrix, characterised by a sophisticated urban character and, at the same time, gave wide scope to their local genius in art, literature and religion, working upon existing inclinations and trends and thus promoting the expansion of Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism variously in Maharashtra and Andhra-Karnataka and Tamilnadu respectively. It would be difficult to imagine the present day basic cultural unity of the Deccan and the South without the pioneering empire building, stimulation of religio-cultural survival and consistent commercial expansion of the Satavahana realm.

3

Identification of the Early Chalukyan Temples

S. RAJASEKHARA

As many of the deities within the sanctums are destroyed, it is not always easy to know the original dedication of the temples in Aihole. Having been a prosperous town during the early Chalukya period and also the headquarters of the Ayyavole-500 guild, the population of Aihole perhaps comprised of *Vaishnavas*, *Saivas*, *Saktas*, *Sauryas*, Jains and Buddhists. They built temples for their own gods and goddesses. The existence of different faiths in the town and the existence of sculptures of different sects in a single temple[1] make it difficult to know the religious nature of the shrine.

The sources that generally help to ascertain the deity that was originally installed in the sanctum are as follows:

1. Inscriptions mentioning the gods consecrated in the temple. They may have been erected immediately after the construction of the temple or at a later date.
2. In the absence of inscriptions, the *mangala-phalaka* generally comes to our help, for it is usually connected with the deity enshrined in the sanctum. In *Vaishnava* temples, Garuda appears on the lintel; if it is a *Saiva* temple, a Nandi or Siva and Parvati or Siva in one of his manifestations, appears; and if the structure is a *Jinalaya*, a seated or a standing tirthankara appears on the lintel.
3. The sculpture found in the *nasika* of the *sukanasa* would sometimes provide a clue for identification. In the Siva temple, it generally contains a relief of the Tandava; and in Surya temples, a relief of Surya.

The presence of inscriptions

The available inscriptions at Aihole do not always give us information regarding the dates or the deities of temples. The Lad Khan[2],

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[1] For example, the temple of Durga has the sculptures of Vishnu on Garuda, Vrishabhavahana—Siva, Narasimha, Varaha, Harihara, Ardhanarisvara, Mahishasuramardhini, etc. *Art and Architecture*, R. S. Gupte, Pls. 104, 105, 107, 117, 118, 120–23.

[2] *I.A.*, VII, p. 287.

Bhagavati (Gaudaragudi)[3], Huchchimalligudi[4], Meguti[5], Durga[6], Huchchappayyagudi[7], Huchchappayyamatha[8], Galaganatha[9], Ravanapadi large Jaina cave etc., contain inscriptions.

Of these only an inscription in the Bhagavati temple mentions goddess Durga Bhagavati.[10] The Meguti inscription[11] gives the date of its construction but not the name of the Tirthankara. The rest of the inscriptions do not throw any light on the questions under examination.

The mangala-phalaka

Temples like Lad Khan, Durga, Huchchimalligudi, Bhagavati (plate II–1), Galaganatha, Mallikarjuna, Huchchappayyagudi etc., bear reliefs of flying Garuda bearing nagas on the door jambs. The Meguti has no reliefs on the lintel at present. The Buddhist *vihara* (plate III–1) on the Meguti hill has the figure of a seated Buddha.

If blindly relied upon, the *mangala-phalaka* is bound to be misleading as far as the early Chalukya temples at Aihole are concerned. Commenting on the *Garuda-phalaka*, Cousens remarked ". . . . that the Garuda. . . . over the shrine door point to the temple being a *Vaishnava* one".[12] Dr. Gupte writes, while dealing with the Lad Khan temple, "The dedicatory block of the shrine has a man-Garuda carved on it, suggesting its *Vaishnavite* affiliations."[13] In other words, temples possessing Garuda sculpture on the door-frame may be regarded as belonging to the *Vaishnava* faith. It may lead us to conclude that at Aihole there were mostly *Vaishnava*-Jaina and Buddhist structures, and almost no temples for Siva.

Let us examine whether all the early Chalukya Hindu shrines with *Garuda-phalaka* were dedicated to Vishnu. The *garbhagriha, dvara* of the Bhagavati temple has a very elaborately carved flying figure of a Garuda holding the tails of the nagas. According to the popular belief, it should have been dedicated to Vishnu, but the inscription mentioned earlier records a gift to the goddess Bhagavati.[14] There is very little doubt that this structure was dedicated to Durga, Bhagavati the consort of Siva.

A temple in the Galaganatha group near the river Malaprabha

[3] *S.I.I.*, XV, No. 463.
[4] *I.A.*, VIII, p. 284.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 237.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 285.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *S.I.I.*, XV, No. 463.
[11] *I.A.*, VIII, p. 237.
[12] *Chalukyan Architecture*, Cousens, p. 35.
[13] *Gupte*, p. 21.
[14] *S.I.I.*, XV, No. 463.

has a Garuda relief on the door-frame. But a *linga* is found in the sanctum. The *linga* is about 4′8″×4′8″×2′8″. The height of the *pitha* including the *linga* is about 4′1″. The presence of a *linga* in the shrine contradicts the popular belief mentioned above. Cousens and Gupte frequently concluded that the *Vaishnava* temples were appropriated by the *Saivas* at a later date, and that the *Vaishnava* deity was replaced by a *Saiva* deity. If this is true, it is difficult to explain the presence of a *linga* whose width is more than the height or the width of the door passage of the *garbhagriha*, for it is impossible to sneak in such a huge *linga*. As in the case of the Bhagavati temple, here too, the Garuda crest on the door-frame has no relevance to the deity of the sanctum.

The practice of carving Garuda on the lintel is followed in Pattadakal also. In the Trailokesvara or Mallikarjuna temple, the "Garuda presides over the shrine door, and he is also found above the north doorway of the hall, while, above the south door, on the dedicatory block, is Vishnu himself, seated upon Garuda."[15] It is well known that the two queens of Vikramaditya II, Lokamahadevi and Trailokyamahadevi, built two temples at Pattadakal. The elder queen Lokamahadevi built a temple for Lokesvara now identified with Virupaksha and the younger queen Trailokyamahadevi constructed the Trailokesvara[16] or the present Mallikarjuna temple. Although the temple was dedicated to Siva, the Garuda crest was used on the doorway. This proves beyond doubt that the presence of Garuda on the lintel does not necessarily warrant any definitive conclusion.

The presence of Garuda on the door-frame positively indicates perfect religious harmony. The early rulers were *Vaishnavas* while the later rulers were great patrons of *Saivism*. Yet the early rulers respected Siva as much as Vishnu. Mangalesa, though he calls himself a *paramabhagavata* and scooped out a cave for Vishnu at Badami[17], nevertheless, was a devotee of Siva at Mahakuta, i.e., Makutesvara. Vikramaditya I who re-established the Chalukya power and revived its former glory calls himself a *parama-mahesvara*.[18] In 699 A.D., the mother of Vijayaditya built a temple for the Trinity at Badami.[19] Vijayaditya perhaps built the first temple at Pattadakal, namely Vijayesvara, identified with the present Sangamesvara.[20] His sister Kumkumamahadevi was a follower of Jina. She built the famous *Anesejje basadi*[21] at Puligere, i.e., modern Lakshmesvara. The members

[15] *Chal. Arch.*, p. 67.
[16] *Ep. Ind.*, III, No. 1.
[17] *I.A.*, XIX, p. 10.
[18] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XVI, p. 1.
[19] *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 2.
[20] *I.A.*, X, p. 170.
[21] *S.I.I.*, XX, No. 46.

of the royal family are described as:

"... हारितीपुत्राणां सप्तलोक मातृभिः
सप्तमातृभिरवर्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्त—
कल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायण प्रसादात् समासादित—
वराहलाञ्छनेक्षण क्षणवशीकृताशेष महीभृतां ..."[22]

Thus they call themselves as the worshippers of the *saptamatrikas* and Kartikeya. Their *lanchhana* was the Boar. Because of their devotion to Varaha, the later rulers, in spite of their *Saiva* leanings, respected and adored the *Vaishnava* deity. Because of this tolerant outlook, together with the fact that the early rulers of the dynasty were *Vaishnavas* by faith, the Garuda symbol seems to have been adopted on the door-frame. Moreover, at the hands of the early Chalukya artist it became a decorative and an auspicious symbol as that of Gajalakshmi. Cousens remarks, "It was, perhaps, nothing more than the practice of the earlier kings which had become a habit with their successors. Siva and Vishnu appear to have been equally reverenced at that time, and the division between *Vaishnavas* and *Saivites*, which in later times became so acute, was, perhaps, non-existant in those early days."[23] The Garuda should be considered an auspicious symbol.

Sukanasa sculptures

The sculpture found at the projected part of the *sikhara* in the *nasika's* cavity, is of great help in identifying the deity of the structure. Cousens, expressing doubts regarding the *sukanasa* sculpture of Huchchimalligudi observed, "This sculpture which is found on the front of most of these temples, was possibly there, in substitution for some other, when Siva worship became the fashion under later kings."[24] The *sukanasa* sculpture of Huchchimalligudi bears a Siva dancing the *tandava*. The temples of Huchchappayyagudi, Tarappa and Mallikarjuna possess Siva reliefs on the *sukanasa*. These panels are original and not subsequent additions. Their stylistic details help us to determine this. The temple of Surya has the sculpture of Surya on its *sukanasa*. This sculpture on the *sukanasa* helps us to identify the shrine as that of Surya.

The *dvarapalas* also help us to determine the deity of the shrine. The temples of Huchchappayyagudi[25], Huchchappayyamatha, Kontigudi (II) and Galaganatha have *Saiva dvarapalas*. They hold *Saiva* symbols like *sarpa*, *trisula* etc., and some of them bear the third eye.

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22 *Studies in Inscriptions*, S. C. Nandimath, *Jour. of Karnatak University*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 216.

23 *Chal.Arch.*, p. 67.

24 *Ibid*, p. 40.

25 *Gupte*, Pls. 81 and 85.

An interesting and very significant feature of the early Chalukya temples is the presence of three *kudus* on the architrave of the *garbhagriha* doorway. These *kudus* are sometimes surmounted by an *amalaka* or a round moulding and are relieved with sculptures. An examination of these reliefs will also help us to establish the latter's connections with the enshrined deities.'

In the temple of the Bhagavati, the central *kudu* is relieved with the Gajalakshmi and the other two are occupied by ladies in the *tribhanga* (plate II-1). In the Tarappa[26], the *kudus* of the sanctum doorway contain the figures of Brahma with three heads and Vishnu in the side *kudus* while the central *kudu* has the relief of Nataraja accompanied by a *urdhvaka* drummer. In the Chekkigudi, they reveal the reliefs of Brahma holding the *kamandalu*, Vrishabhavahana —Siva and Vishnu. In the Surya temple the central *kudu* above the doorway houses a seated Surya (plate II-2).

These miniature sculptures in the *kudus* throw light on the sanctum deity. We know from the inscription that the Bhagavati temple was dedicated to Durga Bhagavati. Its doorway bears the Gajalakshmi relief in the central *kudu*. The temple of Surya has a damaged Surya sculpture in the *sukanasa* of the *sikhara*. Within the temple is found a seated Surya relief in the central *kudu* of the architrave. These strongly suggest that the temple was dedicated to Surya. In the two examples given here, the reliefs in the central *kudus* are identical with the enshrined one.

Thus, with the help of the reliefs found in *kudus*, *sukanasas* and at doorway, one can, with a fair amount of certainty, identify the deity to which the structure was originally dedicated. In the Huchchappayyagudi the *sukanasa* bears a *tandava* sculpture, the *kudu* arches on the architrave of the sanctum door house *Siva-lingas* and a peeping head with three eyes. In addition to these, the *nasika* in the *sabha-mantapa* also houses a three eyed head and a *Siva-linga*. To this may be added the *dvarapalas* bearing *Saivite* attributes. On the basis of these features, the Huchchappayyagudi can be identified as a Siva shrine. Again the Tarappa temple with a *tandava* Siva sculpture in the *sukanasa*, the relief of Nataraja in the central *kudu* of the architrave of the sanctum door and the presence of a huge sculpture of a Nandi in front of the temple, clearly argue in favour of its *Saiva* affiliations. The Chekkigudi with a Vrishabhavahana-Siva in the central *kudu* of the architrave of the sanctum door can be a *Saiva* temple as no other claim is forthcoming from the architectural and sculptural elements. The Huchchimalligudi has a *tandava* Siva in the *sukanasa*, a broken *linga* in the *garbhagriha* and the *kudus* on the eave contain the reliefs of *Siva-linga* and Ganesha. All these elements indicate the *Saivite* character of the structure.

[26] *Ibid.*, Pl. 15.

In the Durga temple, the *sukanasa* sculpture is missing and the *kudu* sculptures are badly effaced. An inscription on the basement of the temple refers to a 'Jinalaya' but it is obviously not related to this temple as no Jaina sculptures are found in or on the structure. With regard to Chakragudi also nothing can be said, for even the *sukanasa* sculpture is missing.

The Ravanapadi cave is undoubtedly a Siva temple, for the *garbhagriha* floor, *pitha* and the linga are hewn out of a single rock. The cave has the sculpture of Nataraja with *sapta-matrikas*, Harihara, Ardhanarisvara, Mahishasuramardini and Varaha.

The double storied structure is undoubtedly a Buddhist structure and this has been amply explained by the reliefs found on the doorways in the lower chamber. These doorways reveal the incidents connected with the life of the Buddha. These have been identified by S. Settar[27] as relating to Nalagiri episode, the Great Renunciation, etc. On the door-frame of the upper chamber is the seated figure of the Buddha. Added to this, on the ceiling of the verandah of the upper chamber is the sculpture of a seated Buddha. Cousens mistook it for a 'clothed Jina'.[28]

It is very difficult to deduce to which of the twentyfour Tirthankaras the small Jaina cave (plate III–2) near the Meguti was dedicated, for the only sculpture carved on the wall is missing now.

Another Jaina cave, locally called Meena *basti* (plate III–3), situated near the road to Chilapura, seems to have been dedicated to the twentyfourth Tirthankara, Mahavira. No *lanchhana* has been found on the pedestal. There are two large sculptures of Parsvanatha in the cave. One of the two found on the right wall of the verandah is represented in the *kayotsarga* posture. The other is found in the right cell of the hall. Herein, on the three walls of the cell is depicted a rare sculptural theme showing the *samavasarana* of Parsvanatha. He is shown as a royal person enjoying the pleasures of life and as a Tirthankara attended by Padmavati *yakshi* and Dharanendra *yaksha*. Indra is shown on his Iravata, with a *kalasa* in his hand. He is obviously marching towards the Tirthankara to perform the *abhisheka* ceremony. If the cave was dedicated to Parsvanatha, the central cell would have housed a Jina with a snake canopy. But in this case no such hood is found above the head of the Tirthankara. Since Mahavira images were commonly set up it is quite probable that the cave was dedicated to him.

As far as Meguti is concerned, it is unfortunate that the inscription does not mention the name of the Tirthankara. The original huge Jina image is damaged by fanatics. In the *sukanasi* of the

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[27] *A Buddhist Vihara at Aihole, S. Settar, East and West, (New Series, Vol. 19,)* Nos. 1–2, pp. 134ff.

[28] *Chal. Arch.*, p. 32.

temple is placed an image of Ambika. Ambika is associated with the twenty-second Tirthankara Neminatha. Ambika is the same as the Digambara *yakshi* Kushmandini. Ambika images are common in the Jaina *bastis* of Karnataka. It is very difficult to say on the basis of the image of Ambika that the Meguti was a Neminatha *basti*.

4

Recent Discoveries in Aihole and Pattadakal

S. R. RAO

Introduction

JUST four years ago a visitor to Aihole, Pattadakal and Badami (Bijapur District), the great centres of experimentation in temple-building, would have come back with a heavy heart after noticing the sad condition of the early Chalukyan temples. At Aihole alone there are no less than one hundred edifices, all built within a short span of two centuries and a half. But till recently most of them including the famous Ladkhan (plate VI–2), Kunti, Veniyar, Chikki, Gaudar and Rachi temples, the Maddinagudi, Badigergudi, Charantimath, Tryambakesvar and Huchhappayya Math were hemmed in by ugly hutments and some of them were not even approachable. A few of them were buried under debris almost to half their height, while some others were used as cattlesheds or kitchens. What is true of the Aihole monuments was equally true of the famous Virupaksha, Mallikarjuna, Sangamesvara and Kasi Visvanatha temples at Pattadakal. It took nearly ten years for the Archaeological Survey of India to acquire the houses abutting these protected monuments. After I took charge of the South-Western Circle (with Headquarters at Aurangabad) the temples were cleared of modern accretions and thrown open to view. In the case of Ladkhan, Gaudargudi, Chakragudi, Kunti temple, Ambigergudi and Huchhappayya Math at Aihole and the Mallikarjuna, Kasi Visvanatha, Sangamesvara and Jambulinga complex at Pattadakal, systematic excavation was undertaken with a view to uncover the buried plinths. Just to give an idea of the scale of operations it may be mentioned that more than a thousand truck-loads of debris had to be cleared from Ladkhan, Chakragudi and Kunti-Huchhappayya Math complexes at Aihole and nearly 3 metre-thick muck had to be removed after demolishing houses built at the roof level of several subsidiary shrines in the Virupaksha-Sangamesvara complex at Pattadakal (plate V–1). The story did not end with reaching the early Chalukyan levels at Pattadakal. A stone pillar and some brick-structures exposed during excavation provided a clue to the building activities in pre-Chalukyan times. At Aihole, too, the existence of temples built earlier than the so-called earliest temple

(Ladkhan) came to light as a result of excavation. Besides clearing debris, structural repairs have been carried out to the Ladkhan, Narayan, Gaudar, Durga, Kunti and Huchhappayya Math temples at Aihole and to the major monuments at Pattadakal. For the first time landscaping has been attempted and a garden is being laid out with necessary provision of picnic spots at Aihole, Pattadakal and Badami.

The Government of Mysore have taken up construction of approach roads to monuments situated in the heart of the village and outside at Aihole. A museum (modestly called Sculpture gallery) is under construction in the Durga temple complex. The beautiful sculptures recently recovered from debris will be housed therein. Perhaps, this is the first time that so large a group of temples (more than one hundred in number) and so early in date (5th-8th cent. A.D.) has been seriously taken up for an overall improvement and to place it on the tourist map of the world. It is not enough if we just talk of beautiful sculptures or clusters of temples or of experimentations in temple construction made by Chalukyan kings. It is essential that we should keep them in a good state of preservation and improve the surroundings too.

Experimentation in temple construction

The early Chalukyan temples cannot be brought under any known style as they represent a distinct and formative stage of what later came to be known as *rekhanagara, dravida* and the *kadamba-nagara* styles of temple architecture. It is possible to distinguish two phases of temple construction at Aihole, Pattadakal and Badami. The end of the first stage is marked by the construction of Upper Sivalaya. The beginning of the second phase commences with the Pallava conquest of Badami in 642 A.D. and ends with the coming in of Rashtrakutas. The temples built in the first stage are atypical and the builders had then no clear idea as to how the elevational aspect should be defined. But even as they were experimenting with the ground plan of the edifices they had already produced two arch-types of their own conception. The first type, a robust double-storeyed *mandapa* having a sloping roof, is represented by the Ladkhan temple. The second type is a coherent tower-like edifice introducing for the first the *talachhanda* concept. This type is represented by the Upper and Lower Sivalayas. It may be added here that these experiments were made before the *Silpa* texts were codified. The second phase is marked by evolving more definite styles as a result of the interaction of two great art movements, namely the Pallava and the Chalukyan. The *Vimana* form came to be defined in the Bhutanatha at Badami, Galaganatha at Aihole and Sangamesvara, Mallikarjuna and Virupaksha temples at Pattadakal.

The northern *nagararekha-prasada*, the beginnings of which are seen in the Gupta temples at Bhitargaon (400 A.D.) and Deogarh (500 A.D.), assumed a final form in the Huchchimalli and Chakragudi at Aihole, in the Jambulinga, Galaganatha and Kasi Visvanatha temples at Pattadakal. But the Papanatha at Pattadakal represents an earlier effort at imposing a northern curvilinear tower over an unconforming ground plan. A similar experiment was made in the Durga temple (6th cent. A.D., apsidal temple) at Aihole. The third style evolved here is what is known as the *Kadambanagara* represented by the Mallikarjuna and a few shrines in Galaganatha and Maddinagudi groups at Aihole.

Chronology of early Chalukyan temples

It is generally believed that the Ladkhan temple at Aihole is the earliest among the Chalukyan temples. True, its massiveness, the atypical plan, sloping roof, the superimposed upper chamber (plate VI–2) and the location of the shrine in the rear bay of a *mandapa* like structure suggest a very early date, 450 A.D., according to Percy Brown. But, the stratigraphic evidence from the excavation carried out in Ladkhan-Gaudar-Narayan temple complex during the year 1969–70 has clearly established (See *Lalit Kala* No. 16 to be released soon) that the Gaudargudi is earlier than the Ladkhan. The former is a rectangular pillared hall built on a high platform approached by two lateral flights of steps. The *garbhagriha* is formed by walling up the central *ankana* of the central bay of the *mandapa*. The outer bay of this pillared hall serves the purpose of a circumambulatory passage, but it is open. Gaudargudi is not a *sandhara* temple in the real sense of the term. The open *mandapa* concept and the absence of the *mukhamandapa* and upper chamber point to an early date. The addition of a *mukhamandapa*, the superimposition of an upper chamber, the introduction of a closed *mandapa* concept, the embellishment of pillars with cameo sculptures and the replacement of flights of lateral steps by a frontal balustraded one are some of the most conspicuous features which go to prove that the Ladkhan temple is more evolved and, therefore, later in date than the Gaudar temple.

Floods

Another important result of the excavations undertaken by the writer in the year 1969–70 is that remains of two stone temples constructed prior to the Ladkhan, one of them being almost contemporary with the Gaudargudi, have been found. From a careful study of the stratified deposits in front of the Ladkhan temple (plate IV–1) it is inferred that the pre-Ladkhan temples were heavily damaged by two great floods. The first one is represented by a half-

metre thick flood loam accumulating over the basement of a stone temple and the second one by a one metre-thick deposit of fine sand and silt sealing a high plinth of a temple almost contemporary with the Gaudargudi. Having found to their dismay that all temples built in lowlying areas including the Gaudargudi were in danger of floods the inhabitants hurriedly raised the general working level and constructed frontal balustrated steps, covering the original lateral ones. They provided stone pavement at a higher level around the Gaudargudi. This explains the existence of two stone pavements one above the other, but separated by flood debris. The second flood had destroyed the temple situated north-east of Gaudar. Hence the inhabitants levelled up the whole area and built the Ladkhan temple over the debris. Below the foundation of Ladkhan, the remains of a brick-structure separated by an intervening layer yielding a distinct ceramic ware known as the Red-polished Ware was noticed, but it was not possible to expose this brick structure over an area sufficient to understand its plan. On the strength of ceramic evidence the second flood and the pre-Ladkhan temples including the Gaudargudi and the one situated northeast of it (plate IV–1) have been assigned to the first half of the fifth century A.D., while the first flood may be about 50 years earlier in date. The evidence for extensive floods comes from Kunti, Huchhappayya Math and Ambigergudi complexes also where the temples are constructed in the lowlying area. In the Kunti complex there are four temples of the *mandapa* type and the plinths of all of them were found buried partly under flood deposit and partly under deliberately rammed debris (plate VI–1). In the second flood Kunti temples No. 1 and No. 2 (temple facing east) were affected by stagnation of water and their safety was threatened. It is at this stage that a *mandapa* was constructed in between temples No. 1 and No. 2 to serve as a tie-rod and keep the outer rows of pillars of these temples in proper position. Excavation in Kunti complex resulted in throwing further light on the conservation measures undertaken by Chalukyan engineers and bringing to light a temple hitherto unknown and occupied by local residents.

It is now possible to determine the relative chronology of Kunti temples. On stratigraphic evidence Kunti temple No. 1 is found to have been built prior to 700 A.D. when a stone inscription found during recent excavation here was put up. The architectural features suggest that temple No. 1 was completed before the Meguti temple was built. Temples Nos. 2 and 3 were built subsequently. It is further observed that a stone platform was constructed, perhaps in the 8th cent. A.D., to save the moulded courses of the plinth of temple No. 2 from erosion and weathering. The general working level around Kunti group was raised resulting in hiding the original

steps. A stone ladder meant for enabling devotees to reach the upper shrine was placed on the protective platform built around temple No. 2.

Chalukyan jewellery

Close to the Kunti group stands the Huchhappayya Math Complex where, after removing most of the modern accretions, systematic excavation was undertaken. In the stratified deposits of the Chalukyan period a hoard of gold and silver jewellery was recovered. A circular gold pendant carries a figure of peacock beautifully embossed on both sides. Other interesting ornaments are silver bangles and a gold ring. Below the Chalukyan levels a habitation deposit yielding pottery of the Satavahana period was encountered. Besides red ware bowls and other ceramic types a circular lead coin of the Satavahanas has been found. This coin does not appear to belong to the Imperial Satavahanas but to one of the feudatories. The Aihole coin (plate V–3) closely resembles coin No. 233 (from Chitaldroog) illustrated in Rapson's Catalogue (p. 57, plate VIII), except for the 'bow' symbol occurring on the Aihole coin. The legend in the Chitaldroog coin reads *Sadakana Kalalaya Maharathisa*. The tentative reading of the Aihole coin is *S-a ma na sa ma hara* (?) *na* (*Va*?) *si*. . . .It is difficult to say whether the coin is of Vasithiputa. On palaeographic grounds it can be assigned to the 3rd-4th cent. A.D.

Satavahana brick temples at Pattadakal and Aihole

Below the stone foundations of the Ambigergudi (6th cent. A.D.) at Aihole there is a debris layer yielding typical knife-edged bowls of the Satavahana period. Underlying this layer is a neatly built brick temple, rectangular in plan, over which the Chalukyan stone temple with a projecting *garbhagriha* stands. Mention has already been made of the Satavahana coin and pottery found in the Huchhappayya Math complex. The foregoing evidence of Satavahana settlements and structural remains at Aihole has been further corroborated by the discovery of a well-planned pillared hall of bricks (plate V–2) built in front of the Sangamesvara temple at Pattadakal. The extent of the brick temple known so far is 14 metres (east-west) × 12.64 metres (north-south) and the size of bricks (38×22×6.5 cms.) is the same as in Satavahana structures found elsewhere. The ceramic ware in the contemporary and sealing layers comprises bowls, lamps and jars closely resembling in form and composition the Satavahana pottery of Brahmapuri and Madhopur (Belgaum). The brick temple is essentially a large rectangular hall divided into three bays, the central one being wider than the side aisles. Bases of five pillars of the southern row,

three in the northern row of the central bay and a few in the peripheral rows, are in tact, but some have disappeared partly owing to disturbance caused during the construction of the Sangamesvara temple. From the available evidence it can be surmised that this brick structure was a pillared hall with a closed cellar at the western end and an entrance on the east.

It may be recalled here that there is a Satavahana site about 200 metres away from the Galaganatha temple, wherefrom typical Satavahana pots were found a few years ago while widening the road. In short, it can be said that the present excavations have confirmed that Aihole and Pattadakal were centres of temple construction even during Satavahana rule.

The clearence operations and systematic excavation at Aihole and Pattadakal have yielded a large number of beautiful sculptures. Among them mention may be made of seven massive Saptamatrika figures, (the bust itself being 1.2 metres high), seated Kubera, Vishnu, Varaha and Surya figures from Aihole. A panel of Saptamatrika figures, of which Indrani and Brahmi can be identified, found in Virupaksha is considered unique because each *matrika* has three heads.

Finally, as the best example of Chalukyan art, there are two panels (1.3 metres high) representing Siva as *Tripurantaka* (plate IV–3) and Siva as *Kalantaka* (plate IV–2). In the former case he is seen shooting an arrow ridding on a chariot drawn by 4 horses representing the four Vedas. Brahma is seen behind them. Parvati is seated near his right leg. The three cities are represented by three *vimanas*. Siva is right-handed, holding *gada* (mace), *khadga* (sword), *jhalaka* (shield) and *sarpa* (snake). Two hands are engaged in shooting the arrow. The sculpture is noted for expression, vigour and proportion. The second sculpture (also found while clearing debris of the subsidiary shrine in the Virupaksha enclosure), depicts the story of Markandeya who, as a boy of 16, is seen worshipping linga from which Siva has emerged. (Behind Siva's right leg, linga can be seen. He has thrust the spear in Yama's neck. Here again Siva's face is full of expression and the body proportion is unmatched. The material used in both the sculptures is red sandstone. They are assignable to c. 700 A.D. Lastly mention may be made of a sculpture of *Lajjagauri* from Badami, perhaps an object of worship in the fertility cult. Another such sculpture is lying near the Galaganatha temple at Aihole and is assignable to c. 7th cent. A.D.

5

The Ramesvara Temple in Kamdolli and Bracket Figures

A. SUNDARA

Preliminary remarks

KAMDOLLI is a small village in Kundgol Taluk, Dharwar District, Mysore State, situated about 30 kms. south-east of Hubli, a railway junction on the Southern Railway. Kundgol is well known from the Kannada inscriptions[1] as Kundagola. There is also a large temple of Sambhulinga[2] of 12th-13th century A.D. It is about 9 kms. north of Lakshmesvara, the ancient Puligere which is studded with a number of inscriptions and temples. Within the village, on the most eminent place of stony waste land, is situated an ancient temple locally called Ramesvara temple. About 250 m. west of this temple there is another of circa 12th-13th century A.D., known locally as Kamalesvara temple. Three broken Kannada inscriptions[3] are reported from this place. Of these two temples the former, which appears to belong to circa 9th-10th century A.D., is architecturally of some importance as it had originally bracket figures in the upper zone of the exterior walls of the *garbhagriha* and *antarala*. This has a bearing on the existence of an earlier practice of decorating walls etc., with bracket figures in structural temples than known from the temples of 12th-13th century A.D., especially of the Hoysalas.

The Rameshvara temple (plate VII–1)

The temple faces east and consists of a *garbhagriha*, an *antarala*, a *sabhamantapa* and a recently added shrine containing a sculpture of Nandi. It was in ruins and in recent times renovated with rubble and chunam mortar. The extant original parts of the temple are: the *garbhagriha*, the *antarala*, the central pillars, the wall pilasters and the ceiling of the *sabhamantapa*. During renovation, a *sikhara* of rubble and mortar over the *garbhagriha*, the walls of the *sabhamantapa* over the stamps of the original walls and a small shrine have been constructed. The *sikhara* is now in ruins.

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1 *South Indian Inscriptions* (SII), Vol. XX, p. 31, p. 122, p. 159, pp. 205-6, etc.

2 Cousens, H., 1926: *The Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese District*, p. 97, Pl. XCIV.

3 SII, Vol. XX, No. 28, p. 30; No. 132, p. 169 and No. 45, p. 389. No. 28 refers to Jagadekamalla I (Jayasimha II).

Architectural features

The *garbhagriha*, about 3.20 (E-W) × 3.10 (N-S) metres interiorly, has eight plain pilasters and four canton pilasters, star shaped vaulted ceiling containing a finely embossed carving of lotus flower[4] in the centre and a horizontal narrow pedestal in the middle of the western and northern walls. In the centre of the floor is a linga of blackstone on a moderately moulded *pitha* of 130 cms. square and 75 cms. high (plate X–1).

The doorframe consists of a plain convex shaft, a pilaster and two rectangular offsets on each side, with a plain *lalatabimba* in the lintel, and has no *dvarapalas*. Above the lintel is a *kapota* with three pairs of indistinct small niches on the frontal side.

The *antaralas* 3.25 (N-S) × 2.50(E-W) metres has four canton pilasters and two central richly moulded pillars in the facade. The central pillars carry an exuberantly and minutely carved *makaratorana* of superb workmanship. The *torana* encloses a row of graceful bas-reliefs of Siva—Nataraja in the middle and Brahma and Vishnu on the sides and has Ashta-Dikpalas at the top edge.

The *sabhamantapa* about 7.25 metres square has four canton pilasters, six middle pilasters and four central pillars. The pillar has moulded *pitha*, shaft partly square and partly circular, *padmabandha*, *kalasa*, *tadi*, disc-like *kumbha*, ornate *idage* and *phalaka*. The parts from *padmabandha* to *idage* are circular in section. The pilaster[5] is throughout square in section and with offsets, has unmoulded *pitha*, shaft partly rectangular and plain and partly richly moulded, *padmabandha*, *kalasa* and *tadi* supporting double crossed brackets (plate VIII–3 and4).

The ceiling is plain and even. The central bay contains a fine bas-relief of lotus flower that differs in the style of carving from that of the *garbhagriha*. The petals of the former are flat and the edges, are rather rigid and thus become stylized though graceful. On the other hand, those of the latter are distinctly bold and the edges are slightly curling. The delineation is more natural and realistic.

The walls of the *sabhamantapa* are of rubble stones and mud mortar raised in recent times over the stumps of the original walls.

The plinth[6] of the temple consists of five horizontal tiers. The third tier is *kuduvari* and the fourth is relieved into a series of gaping *makaras* (plate VIII–1). The walls are relieved into projections and recesses containing respectively reliefs of double and single

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[4] Comparable to those found in the early Chalukyan temples at Pattadakal, Aihole.

[5] Comparable to the pillars in the *mukhamandapa* of the Kuntigudi group and the temple near Gaudaragudi at Aihole.

[6] Comparable to the plinth of the Kuntigudi recently exposed by the Archaeological Survey of India.

pilasters crowned with *sikhara* of Dravida *Vimana* type. Over the *sikhara* of the pilaster in the recess, is an arabesque design with *simhamukha* at the top carved actually by scooping out the finished surface of the walls (plate IX-1). In the middle zone of the wall of the *garbhagriha* on each side there is a *devakoshtha*. In the middle part of the jambs of the door frame of the *devakoshtha* is a pair of elephants (plate IX-3) supporting bracket figures originally. Over the *devakoshtha* is a richly and ornately carved miniature temple enclosed in a minutely carved *makaratorana* with *simhalalata* and *dvarapalas* at the bottom. Above the *simhalalata* is a niche resting on the *kapota* of the walls. On the frontal side of the niche. is an ornate arabesque design with *simhalalata* (plate VII-2). The door-frame, the lintel and the frontal side of the *kapota* of the *devakoshtha* are richly carved with decorative designs of *sikharas* of *Rekhanagara-prasada* type, festoons and bas-reliefs of Gajalakshmi in the *lalata-bimba* and Siva-Nataraja above.

In the upper part of the projection of the wall on either side of each *devakoshtha* is an elephant (plate IX-4) projecting from the wall, that serves as a pedestal originally supporting a bracket figure, the top of which was fixed into the socket made in the projection from the top of the wall (plate IX-2). This is particularly a note-worthy feature. There are in all six elephant pedestals for the bracket figures. Now none of the bracket figures in extant.

At the top of the wall is *kapota* (eave) on which runs the decorative *hara* of gaping *makaras* and standing lions in series alternately. Above the *hara* is a plain horizontal moulding and further above, a tier of *salas* and *kutas*, which is dilapidated here and there.

Over the *garbhagriha* rises the *sikhara* of rubble and mud mortar with lime plaster. It is obviously of late date and in ruins. Similarly are the walls of the *sabhamantapa* and the small shrine on the frontal side of the *sabhamantapa*.

There is a *chandrasila* slab (plate VIII-2) used now for the steps to the gateway of the compound of the temple. This was probably placed originally in front of the doorway of the *garbhagriha* or the flight of steps in front of the temple.

Sculptures

In the *sabhamantapa* there are four sculptures: Saptamatrika panel, Mahavishnu, Narasimha and Rama-Lakshmana.

In the Saptamatrika panel the noteworthy features are the flanking gods, Siva[7] and standing Gajanana, presence of Kaumari immediately after Mahesvari and followed by Vaishnavi, the attributes[8] such as the pyriform *kalasa* with high neck and lid held at

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[7] and [8] Comparable to the iconographic traits of the sculptures in the early Chalukyan temples at Pattadakal and Aihole.

the neck in the lower-left hand of Brahmi, the type of *japasara* of Brahmi and Mahesvari, the elongated bulgeous *gada* short handle and the *chakra* of Vaishnavi and Varahi and the graceful ornaments such as *kalasa* and *patrakundalas* worn by Siva and Kaumari respectively.

Nearby the Saptamatrika, is the sculpture of Mahavishnu in *samabhanga* with standing Garuda and Lakshmi on the sides.

In the wall above the doorway of the shrine added to the *sabhamantapa* is fixed the head of a Narasimha sculpture very ornately carved.

In the wall facing north, near the south-east corner is a pair of men in regal dignity each holding a bow and arrows, apparently Rama and Lakshmana. The sculpture as suggested by the anatomical features, ornaments etc., appears to be of the Vijayanagara period probably fixed there during the time of renovation (plate X–4).

Besides the above, there are sculptures in the *devakoshthas*. In the *devakoshtha* looking south is a sculpture of Mahavishnu, (plate X–3), broken across near the knees. The figure holds a bunch of fruits in the right hand, the left hand being *katinyasta*. The upper hands must have held *sankha* and *chakra* which are mutilated. This image is similar to the sculpture of Mahavishnu in the northern exterior wall of the Mallikarjuna temple (7th-8th century A.D.) at Mahakuta and is therefore not later than 9th-10th century A.D.

In the *devakoshtha* facing west is the sculpture of Bhairava in seated posture, four handed holding *khadga, trisula, pasa* and *panapatra*. It has rigid anatomical features and is obviously of late Vijayanagara period.

In the *devakoshtha* on the northern side is Gajanana (plate X–2) seated on *padmasana*. He is two handed holding *danta* and sweets that are being picked up with his trunk. His ornaments are quite a few. He wears no *kiritamakuta* but only ornamental chains. This image also appears to be of the same period as the Mahavishnu of the southern *devakoshtha*.

Inscriptions

1. A Kannada inscription[9] in two lines, palaeographically of 11th-12th century A.D., is found on the side of the beam looking east of the central bay of the *sabhamandapa*. It reads as follows :

೧. ರಾಮ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತಂ ಲಿಂಗ ದರ್ಶನಾದಿಹ ಜನ್ಮನಿ ಸ್ಪರ್ಶನಾದನ್ಯ ಜನ್ಮನಿ. . . ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಹತ್ಯಂ (ಸ್ಯ)
ಪೋಃಪತಿ ಚೋಃಕುಳಾಂಬರ ದ್ಯುಮಣಿ ರಾಮೇಶ ನಿರ್ಮಿತಮಪ್ಪ ನಿಬ್ಬಮಂ

೨. ರಾಸವಸಾದಿರಾಜ ಚರಿತ ಸುಭಟಾಗ್ರಣಿ ನಾಕಿಭೂಪಸನ್ನ್ಯಾಸ ವಿವರ್ಜಿತಂ ನೆಱೆ ಶಿಳಾಮಯ
ಮಾಗಿರೆ ಮಾಡಿದೊಳ್ಪು ಧಾತ್ರಿಸುತಮಾಯ್ತು ಧಾರಿಣೀಕುಳಾಚಲಚಂದ್ರ ದಿನೇಶರುಳ್ಳಿನ.

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[9] SII, Vol. XX, Nos. 312 and 313, pp. 341-42.

2. At the bottom of the *makara-torana* in the facade of the *antarala* is another beautiful Kannada inscription[10] in three lines palaeographically of 12th-13th century A.D. It reads thus:

Right part:

೧. ದ್ವಿಜರಾಜಂ ನಾಗದೇವಂ ಕಮಳಜಕುಳ ದಿಗ್ಭಾಗನನ್ತಾತನಗ್ರಾತ್ಮಜನುರ್ವ್ವೀ ಸುಂದರಂ ಸೋ

೨. ವರಸನುದಿತ ಸೋಮ ಪ್ರಭಾದ್ಯೋತರ ಕೀರ್ತ್ತಿರ್ಘ್ನ ಜನನ್ತಾತಗತಿ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯ ತನಯ ನಿ

೩. ಳಾಸ್ತುತ್ಯನಾತ್ಮೇಷ್ಟ ಶಿಷ್ಟಬ್ರಜ ಕಲ್ಪಾಸೋಕಹಂ ನಾಕರಸನೆಂಭೀಜನಸ್ತೋತ್ರಪಾತ್ರಂ ಪವಿತ್ರಂ

Left part:

೧. ಕಲಿಯ ಬಾಪ್ಪ ಮರೇಂದ್ರಪುತ್ರನ ಬಿ ಅಪ್ಪೃತ್ಪಪ್ತ ಸಪ್ತ ಸ್ವನೋಜ ಜಾತಾರಿಸಮ

೨. ದ್ಭವೇರತಸಯು ಧರ್ಮಜ್ಞನೇ ಧರ್ಮಜಂ ಬಲವದ್ವೈರಿಮದ ಪ್ರತಾಪ ಹರ

೩. ನೆ ಅಮ್ಮಮ್ಮ ತಾನಸ್ತಕಂ ವಿಲಾಸಫಾರಿಣೀ ಮುಗ್ಧದೋಃ ಬುಧನುತ ಶ್ರೀನಾಕನೃಪಾಳ.

Essentially, the temple is built in sandstone while the *devakoshtha* including the crowning *sikhara*, the central pillars and the ceiling of the *sabhamandapa* and the *makara-torana* of the *antarala* are of greenish black stone. The *linga* and the pedestal, the Saptamatrika panel, the sculptures in the *devakoshthas*, the *chandrasila* are of greenish black stone while the other sculptures are of grey black stone.

Dating

1. Superficially, in view of the arabesque design over the pilasters in the exterior walls, the facade of the *devakoshtha*, particularly its crowning *sikhara* and the *simhalalata* of the central pillars, the ceiling with the lotus flower carving in the central bay and the palaeographic character of the Kannada inscriptions, the temple may be ascribed to circa 12th century A.D. But a careful and close examination of these and the other parts of the temple undoubtedly pointed out that these parts were in course of time interpolated into the already existing temple. Evidently, the walls, the *kapota* and the *hara* were actually cut (plate VII, 2) in order to accommodate the frame of the *devakoshtha* and its crowning *sikhara* and the niche. When examined from the sides it is clearly evident that the crowning *sikhara* is placed on the eave of the *devakoshtha* resting against the walls with finished surface. Similarly the arabesque design over the decorative pilasters in the recesses of the exterior walls are carved by scooping out the finished surface of the walls.

The crowning *sikharas* of the decorative pilasters in the exterior walls are invariably of Dravida *Vimana* type, which is a feature in the pre-11th-12th century A.D., temples. It is only in the interpolated frame of the *devakoshtha*, *sikhara* of the *rekhanagara-prasada* type is found.

Invariably, the ornate and richly caparisoned double elephants in the door-frame of the *devakoshthas* serving as pedestal for support-

[10] *Ibid.*

3

ing the bracket figures are graceful and of subdued force in contrast to the realistic, vigorous and little decorated elephants of the walls. Further, the back of the former itself is the seat of the bracket figures while in the case of the latter a slab shown on the back stretching even beyond the head of the elephant is provided. These differences are, therefore, not due to the idea of displaying varieties but to the different schools of different ages.

The characteristic mouldings of the plinth, the invariable representation of the *sikhara* of the Dravida *Vimana* type in the recesses of the exterior walls, the type of *hara*, the tier of the *salas* and *kutas*, the more number of pillars in the *garbhagriha*, the realistic delineation of the lotus flower in the central ceiling of the *garbhagriha* and the type of *chandrasila* indicate the continuation with some modifications of the architectural tradition prevailing in the times of the Badami Chalukyas. Likewise, the form of the *linga* and of its moulded pedestal, the presence of Siva in the Saptamatrika panel instead of *Vinadhara* Virabhadra invariably associated with the Saptamatrika panels of 11th-13th century A.D., the forms of attributes such as the *gada*, *japasara* and *kalasa* and of the ornaments like *kalasa* and *patrakundalas*, the sculptures of Mahavishnu and the Gajanana also reflect the iconographic traditions of the Badami Chalukyas.

The two inscriptions of 11th-13th century A.D. refer to a chieftain Nakarasa. His date and dynastic affiliation are not indicated, but he, as implied in the inscriptions, seems to have renovated the temple the *linga* of which is believed to have been consecrated by Sri Rama. It is obviously during this renovation that the ornate frames of the *devakoshthas*, the *makara-torana* in the facade of the *antarala*, the pillars and the ceiling of the *sabhamandapa* were added or replaced. Some sculptures such as the Mahavishnu and the Narasimha of the *sabhamandapa* belong to the period of renovation.

Thus in view of the above mentioned architectural, sculptural and epigraphical evidences the original temple may be ascribed to circa 9th-10th century A.D. This underweni renovation in the 12th-13th century A.D., and again in the late Vijayanagara period.

Importance

Once the period of the temple is reasonably ascertained, the temple, though in its present state of existence it is unimpressive and does not call for particular attention, is indeed important as now it is the only known early structural temple having the bracket figures that became later on more or less a characteristic of the Hoysala temples of 12th-13th century A.D.

Of course the earliest known date for the temple bracket figures in Karnataka is the second half of the 6th century A.D., i.e., the date

of the Vaishnava rock-out temple (578 A.D.) in which the bracket figures occur on the top of the pillars in the facade of the temple at Badami, got excavated by Mangalesa of the Badami Chalukyas. Thereafter they are regularly known from the structural temples of 12th-13th century A.D., only. Thus there was lack of evidences for a considerable length of time to know if this tradition of the later temples was in continuationof the earlier tradition or an innovation of the architects of the 12th-13th century A.D. The above temple provides the link and upholds the former proposition.

Secondly, the importance of the temple is further enhanced as the same temple has evidences in it of the presence of bracket figures of the succeeding period i.e., 12th-13th century A.D., as well, suggesting how the tradition was continued almost uninterruptedly.

The temple was visited by the author in December 1971 when he went to Kundgol to copy an inscription thereat on behalf of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Karnatak University.

6

Chronology of Papanatha Temple at Pattadakal: A Reconsideration

M. S. NAGARAJA RAO

PAPANATHA temple at Pattadakal is located to the south of the famous Virupaksha, on the right bank of the river Malaprabha. It faces east. It is a very ornate structure and has a *sikhara* in the northern style. The date of construction of this temple has always been controversial. Most of the scholars agree that it was constructed before the Virupaksha and have ascribed circa A.D. 680 as the date of construction. We differ from this dating on the basis of epigraphs found in the temple. Hence this reconsideration.

Cousens came to the conclusion that "judging from the character of a few short inscriptions, it cannot be later than Virupaksha."[1] Further, he considered the inscription on the eastern face, on the southside of door, the characters of which are, according to Fleet, not much earlier, if at all, than seventh century.[2] This inscription is in praise of a certain Chattara Revadi Ovajja who is said to have *made the southern country*, i.e., was the builder of the temples of the southern country, and hence, by inference, builder of this temple.[3]

Finally Cousens argued that "it is hardly likely that three great costly temples would have been in hand at one place at nearly the same time. 650 A.D. as the latest possible date, therefore, would be, perhaps, as near the mark as we can get with the present date."[4]

Fergusson ascribed it approximately to A.D. 700[5]. Without giving any reasons, Coomaraswamy put down A.D. 735 as the date of construction of this temple.[6]

Percy Brown, however, assigned the construction of Papanatha to about A.D. 680, on architectural grounds.[7] He thought that Papanatha retained the heaviness found in the cave architecture at

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[1] Cousens, H., *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 68.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] The words *tenkana dise* have been wrongly read as *tenkana desa*. Hence the interpretation 'southern country'.

[4] Cousens, H., *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] Coomaraswamy, A.K., *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Dover Edition, 1965, p. 96.

[7] Brown, P., *Indian Architecture*, (Hindu and Buddhist), 1956, p. 83.

Badami, and did not possess the architectural advancement discernible in the Virupaksha at Pattadakal. He found no concordance between the plan and elevation of the temple. The unusually large antechamber, and the stereotyped niches without proper spacing between one another on the outer walls of the temple led Brown to conclude that the art of temple construction was still in its formative stages when Papanatha was built.[8]

Annigeri, although he mentions that some of the sculptors worked both at Papanatha and Virupaksha, agrees with the dating of Brown, and states that "Virupaksha appears to have been erected only within a period of 30 or 40 years from the date of the construction of the Papanatha temple."[9]

Soundararajan is the latest to concur with the dating of Papanatha to about A.D. 680. He observes that "the Papanatha shrine at the same place is quite obviously much earlier (than Sangamesvara)[10] and was probably one of the first batch of temples coming up at Pattadakal in the reign of Vikramaditya I."[11] He apparently bases his argument on the ground that the art of temple construction was not yet developed. He states that "the Papanatha temple is archaic to a degree in its combination of the *hara* parapet of the southern *vimana* usage of the early Chalukyas with the truly *sandhara* and *Rekhanagara* shrine lay-out. The rather subdued *sukanasa*, the *petite sikhara* outline, the incipient pillared porch projection on the cardinal points of the sanctum on the outer wall, the rather straight and unrelieved line of *mahamandapa* and *rangamandapa* strike the disequilibrium between the carved exterior and the inadequate pierced windows of the two front halls : all support its early stage at Pattadakal."[12]

The epigraphical evidence from the temple itself helps us to date the construction of the temple almost perfectly. Many of the sculptures inside and on the outer walls bear the names of the sculptors who carved them. At least three of these have worked in the construction of the Virupaksha temple. We may examine these epigraphs.

(*a*) On the east face, south side of the main entrance of Papanatha :

೧. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ಶಿಲೆಮುದ್ವರ
೨. ಮವರ್ಗನ್ ಸರ್ವ್ವಸಿದ್ಧಿ ಆ

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[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Annigeri, A. M., *A Guide to Pattadakal Temples*, Dharwar, 1961, p. 41.

[10] Sangamesvara, originally called Vijayesvara, is attributed to Vijayaditya (A.D. 696–733) on the inscriptions found in the temple. See Annigeri, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[11] Soundararajan, K. V., *Early Temple Architecture in Karnataka and its Ramifications*, Dharwar, 1969, p. 27.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

೩. ಚಾಜ್ಜ್ರ್ಯನ ಚಟ್ವರ್ ರೇವ
೪. ಡಿ ಒವಜ್ಜರ್ ತೆನ್ಕ
೫. ಣ ದಿಶೆ ಮಾಡಿದೋರ್

This means that Revadi Ovajja, disciple of Sarvvasiddhi Acharya, grandson of Silemuddara, made the southern part (of the Papanatha temple).

(*b*) Above the *dvarapala* image, in the eastern *ardhamantapa* of Papanatha :

೧. ಶ್ರೀ ಬಲದೇವ
೨. ನಿಮ್ಮಿರ್ತ ರೂಪ

'This sculpture is carved by the sculptor Sri Baladeva'.

The same Baladeva has also carved some of the Ramayana scenes on the southern wall of the temple. Near the sculpture of Surpanakhi, the name Baladeva is carved, indicating that some of these sculptures are his works.

(*c*) Below the amourous couple, on the pilaster, on the north wall of the *nandimantapa* of Papanatha :

೧. ಶ್ರೀ ಚೆಂಜ್ಗಮ್ಮ

Chengamma is the name of the sculptor who carved the couple.

As already mentioned, three names of the artists mentioned in the above inscriptions are associated with the construction of the Virupaksha temple. They are : Sarvvasiddhi Achari, Baladeva and Changamma. We will consider these sculptors one by one.

Sarvvasiddhi Achari is mentioned in two inscriptions in the Virupaksha temple. The inscription on the right pillar in the *ardhamantapa* in front of the Virupaksha temple[13], near the river, states that Vikramaditya won three battles over Kanchi, the capital of the Pallavas. He made over certain gifts thrice to the *Sutradhari* (master-architect) of the Lokesvara (Virupaksha) temple constructed by his queen Lokamahadevi. The *Sutradhari*, Sarvvasiddhi Achari is said to be the *pitamaha* in *vastusilpa* and *murtisilpa*, and was the crest-jewel in architecture. He was the architect of the southern part of the Lokesvara (Virupaksha) temple.

Another inscription, on the outer wall of the *nandimantapa* has a three-line text which states that the architect of the south side (of the temple) is Sarvvasiddhi Achari :

೧. ಶ್ರೀ ಸರ್ವ್ವಸಿದ್ಧಿ ಆಚಾ
೨. ರ್ಯ ತೆನ್ಕಣ ದಿಶೆಯ
೩. ಸೂತ್ರಧಾರಿ ||

Sculptor Baladeva is said to be the son of Duggi Achari. An inscription above the *dvarapala* image, on the right side of the

[13] For text, see Annigeri, A. M., *Pattadakalla Gudigalu* (in Kannada), Dharwar, 1960, p. 78, No. 1.

southern *ardhamantapa* of the Virupaksha states that this *dvarapala* sculpture was made by Baladeva, son of Duggi Achari.[14]

The Siva image on the southern wall of Virupaksha is the work of Chengamma. Here Siva is in the standing pose, holding *sula*, *dhvaja* and *naga* in three of the four hands, while the fourth, lower left hand is placed on his thigh. He has matted locks of hair. Below, in the space provided for the label, is an inscription which states that Chengamma made this sculpture.[15]

೧. ಶ್ರೀ ಚೆಙ್ಗಮ್ಮ ಈ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆ
೨. [ಯ] ಕುಟ್ಟಿದೋನ್

It is clear from the above epigraphical evidence that a number of artists worked in the construction of both the Virupaksha and Papanatha temples. Secondly, Revadi Ovajja who was the architect of the southern part of the Papanatha temple, was the disciple of Sarvvasiddhi Achari, the master-architect (*sutradhari*) of Virupaksha. The master must have allowed his disciple to independently work on a major construction like Papanatha only when he was convinced of the ability of his disciple. We know from the inscription of Lokamahadevi that the Virupaksha temple was constructed in about A.D. 740, to commemorate the triple victory of Vikramaditya II over Kanchi. Therefore, if the disciple of the master-architect of Virupaksha should have participated in the construction of Papanatha, the construction of that temple should have been contemporary to that of Virupaksha, if not later. The argument of Cousens that "it is hardly likely that three great costly temples would have been in hand in one place at nearly the same time",[16] and therefore, the date of Papanatha is early, i.e., circa A.D. 650, is not convincing. We are inclined on the epigraphical evidence, therefore, to think that the construction of Papanatha was in all probability contemporaneous to that of Virupaksha, if not later, which confirms the dating by Coomaraswamy.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 83.
[15] *Ibid.*, p. 8.
[16] Cousens, H., *op. cit.*, p. 68.

7

The Hoysala Temples

S. SETTAR

THE political and cultural history of the Hoysalas falls into three phases: (1) from the earliest time to the end of Narasimha I; (2) the reign of Vira Ballala II and (3) from the end of Vira Ballala II to the end of Vira Ballala III. The first phase marks the beginning of a new political and cultural order; the second witnesses its zenith; the third continues it with increasing strain and diminishing energy till it reaches a stage of stagnation and break-down. In one way, we witness a steady military glory and territorial expansion from the time of the accession of Vishnuvardhana to the fall of Vira Ballala III, despite the feeble rule of Narasimha I and the division of the kingdom under Ramanatha and Narasimha III. But actually, their creative cultural energy and enthusiasm flag after the rule of Vira Ballala II, or, possibly after that of his son Narasimha II; and what follows later is a mechanical continuation of a traditional process. In time scale, the creative phase in their cultural history begins about a century later and ends about three-quarters of a century earlier than their political history.[1]

First Phase: A Period of Envy and Emulation

Although the Hoysalas had become a considerably important power in the Soseyur area at the beginning of the 11th century, until the later half of that century, we rarely come across their inscriptions. Kama-Hoysala (1006-47), Vinayaditya (1047–98), Ereyanga (1098-1102), Ballala I (1102-08) ruled in this area between 1000 and 1108 A.D. The greatest of the early rulers was Vishnuvardhana who appears on the political arena in the last decade of the 11th century and continues to rule until about 1143. He was succeeded by his son, Narasimha. Compared with the daring

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[1] Assuming that Kama-Hoysala began to rule in the first decade of the 11th century, we find no major Hoysala structures until almost the beginning of the rule of the Vishnuvardhana. Likewise the reigns of Ramanatha and Ballala III, although politically interesting and important, fade into insignificance in the history of temple construction. Temples were built under Narasimha III and some of them were remarkable reproductions of the earlier variety, but the strain of the impending collapse is apparent even in this period.

beginning of Vishnuvardhana and the dazzling career of his son Vira-Ballala, Narasimha's rule was uneventful. He led an army into the north and south-east, but achieved very little success. He did not take advantage of the opportunities provided by the uprising at Kalyana, but did not lose any territory bequeathed to him either. If we are allowed to imagine the dreams of the early rulers of this dynasty, three points appear to be obvious to us: (1) their anxiety to succeed to the Ganga territory; (2) their eagerness to obtain independence and (3) their ambition to attain the imperial status of the Chalukyas. Of these three, the chieftains of the 11th century were able to realise the first, while the other two were left to be achieved by Vishnuvardhana and his grandson Vira-Ballala II.

Vishnuvardhana's political career outlasted the reigns of three Chalukyan emperors—Somesvara III, Jagadekamalla II and Taila II and more or less covered the early half of the 12th century.[2] It is during this period that the Hoysalas clearly perceived their political, military and cultural purposes and goals. The predecessors of Vishnu had fought wars and built temples, but they lacked his magnitude and the independent character. The real foundations of the kingdom, both political and cultural, were laid by him. But at the same time, it is to be remembered, that this new kingdom arose on the ground cleared and levelled by the early chieftains and on the soil which was at various times ruled by the Rashtrakutas, Gangas, Cholas, and, more than all, the Chalukyas. Hence, it is not surprising to find the cultural and political vestiges and legacies of these dynasties integrated in the new order.

During the long rule of Vishnuvardhana, he extricated his dynasty from the suzerainty of the Chalukyas, led his army across the Tungabhadra, wrested the former Ganga territory including Talakad from the Cholas and sent his army as far as Ramesvaram. His daring exploits put the achievements of his predecessors, who had ruled for over a century, into the shade. The initiative and independence which we find in his political career are reflected in the cultural atmosphere of his time. In the course of his conflicts against the Chalukyas and Cholas, the king and his subjects inevitably came into contact with the achievements of their adversaries.[3] The general excitement which followed success on battlefields invariably found its expression in exuberant spiritual and cultural outbursts. Success

[2] He assumed the crown is about 1108 A.D., and for atleast a decade before that he was governing the Hoysala area at the Tamil border. His rule came to an end in about 1142. See J. D. A. Derrett, *The Hoysalas*, O.U.P. 1959, pp. 43 f.

[3] This is particularly true of Balligamve and Talakad and their neighbourhoods. In addition to these contacts, the Hoysalas frequently made inroads into the Chalukya and Tamil kingdoms and either halted or marched through many historical and cultural centres.

in war brought wealth, territory and a general increase in population; naturally fresh outlets were sought to expend wealth and exhibit their glory. The homeland was suddenly and almost silently transformed into a centre of buzzing activity.[4] Besides wealth and wars, envy also appears to have contributed its share. The sparsely populated semi-forest area in which his ancestors had taken so much pride and which he himself had inherited, was in striking contrast to the affluent and culturally advanced kingdoms of the Chalukyas and of the Cholas. When his generals captured Talakad and marched into the deep south, overran Kanchi and Madura and when he and his soldiers stood in an hour of military triumph in such places as Balligamve, Lakkundi, Gadag, Bankapura, Banavase etc., Vishnuvardhana and his men could not but have compared their own cultural level with that of the area over which they had ambition to rule. Vishnuvardhana, obviously, envied not only the political status of these imperial families but also their cultural standards. He wanted to be the lord of as vast an empire but, at the same time, he wished to build his empire as independently and as admirably as each of these houses had built its own. This ambition mixed with envy and admiration shaped his attitude towards the Cholas and Chalukyas.

The foundation of a new cultural order, like that of a new political system, depends upon certain individuals, factors and the presence or absence of certain environmental conditions. The emergence and expansion of the Hoysala power under Vishnuvardhana, the increase in wealth and population, could or could not have led to a renaissance in Karnatak without certain upheavals in other parts. Vishnuvardhana lived in a great age and made it greater by his personal contributions. It was at this time that Ramanujacharya led a movement of reformation in South India and propagated *Sri Vaishnavism*; a couple of years later, when Narasimha came to power, another important movement was inaugurated by Basavesvara in North Karnatak. The need for reformation within the *Vaishnava* and *Saiva* orders was felt in the 12th century, for by then the superficial ceremonies connected with these orders had overwhelmed the true spirit of religion. When Ramanuja was persecuted and forced to flee from Tamilnad,[5] Vishnuvardhana gave him asylum and encouraged

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[4] This may be very easily realised by comparing the number of Hoysala inscriptions with those of other dynasties that ruled over the present Chikmagalur and Hassan Dts. There are not more than a couple of dozen inscriptions of other dynasties, whereas those of the Hoysalas are nearing a thousand—*Ep. Carn.*, V, Intro. p. I; *Ibid.*, XV, p. 3 of the dynastic list; *Ibid.*, VI, Intro. p. 1; Derrett, *op. cit.*, p. 219, note 1.

[5] According to a generally accepted theory, the Chola king who persecuted Ramanuja is believed to be Kulottunga I—see, K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Madras. 1955, pp. 412 ff; T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Sir Subrahmanya*

his movement. By inviting, protecting and patronising Ramanuja and his followers, Vishnuvardhana served political as well as religious purposes that considerably boosted his prestige both at home and outside. The rise of a new political power synchronised with the rise of a reforming movement and although the extent of the impact of the one on the other is apparently inexplicable, it is difficult to imagine the independent development of the two. It appears now that the *Sri Vaishnava* movement would have been crippled or even stiffled in its cradle without the whole-hearted support of Vishnuvardhana; and without the enthusiasm caused by this reforming movement, the renaissance in art and the consequent development of a 'style' would have either taken a different form or would have been postponed indefinitely. The rise of a dynasty, the spread of a reforming movement and the transformation of the traditional art synchronised with this period. But this does not mean that the Hoysala art is *Sri Vaishnava* art, for the art of the Hoysalas itself has scarcely a sectarian character. As observed earlier, despite the rule of the Gangas, the major part of the area had hardly received any political or cultural impact from them. Lying between the Chalukyan and Chola kingdoms, this tract was neglected by all major powers. Very few villages had been founded and very few people had settled in this area. When the Hoysalas started building their kingdom they started almost in a vacuum. Their early inscriptions nearly always mention the establishment of new villages and tanks and we find the temples either following or preceding them.[6] With wealth or without it temples were built in this period, but the poor state of society of the early Hoysalas had to console itself with plain and simple structures, whereas for the afflluent society of the time of Vishnuvardhana and of Narasimha, temple building became a sophisticated technique and art. The result is that the temples built before the rule of Vishnuvardhana can hardly be put beside those built under or after him on the cultural map of this dynasty.

According to a tradition, Ramanuja converted Vishnuvardhana to *Sri Vaishnavism* in about 1117 A.D.[7] Whether the king's personal religion underwent transformation or not, it is undeniable that he played an extremely important role in the promotion of *Sri Vaishna-*

Ayyar Lectures on the History of Sri Vaishnavas, Madras, 1923, pp. 9 ff. ; Derrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23, note. 2, etc.

[6] From the time of Vinayaditya we come to know of similar activities at Biravura, Koligunda (*Ep. Carn.*, XV, Ak. 194 (R); Basavanahalli (*Ibid.*, VI, Cm. 15) Pava-Gavundanahalli (*Ibid.*, Cm. 189) ; Aralaguppe (*Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 57) ; Devihalli (*ASMAR.*, 1924, p. 31) ; Nittur (*Ep. Carn.* V, Hn. 107) ; Kikkeri (*Ibid.*, IV, Kr. 149) ; Ranakiyakatte (*ASMAR.*, 1926, pp. 36 f.) ; Kedagigere (*Ep. Carn.*, VI, Kd. 142) ; Kembala (*Ibid.*, Cn. 207) ; Managatur (*Ibid.*, Ak. 34) ; Bankanakatta (*Ibid.*, VI, Tk. 62) ; Belugere (*Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 105) etc., etc.

[7] Rao, *op. cit.* ; Derrett, *op. cit.*

vism. He boosted its prestige and popularity by building the most splendid temples that Gangavadi had ever witnessed. He is supposed to have consecrated five Narayanas at Belur, Talakad, Melukote, Tonnur and Gadag or Gundlupet[8]. His records associate him, in one way or the other, with the Vishnu temples of Belur, Talakad and Tonnur.[9] We are unaware of the patron of the Viranarayana temple at Gadag, and the absence of any other tradition or record induces us to assign it to Vishnuvardhana. Melukote was the chief seat of Ramanuja and although no record of Vishnuvardhana has been found in this place, it could not have become the stronghold of the *Sri Vaishnavas* without royal patronage and encouragement. It is interesting to note that the majority of *Vaishnava* temples built and *Vaishnava agraharas* founded during this period are directly or indirectly associated with the ruling king and his entourage.[10]

The details of this passage of history may be avoided here in order to concentrate more on the rise of the Hoysala temple art under Vishnuvardhana. The Hoysala art[11] proper begins with the construction of the Kirtinarayana temple at Talakad, the Vijayanarayana temple at Belur and, if we are permitted to include it, the Viranarayana temple at Gadag. These three temples are located in three centres of the then kingdom of Vishnuvardhana : one in the Tamil-dominated Ganga capital, Talakad, that was wrested from them by his armies ; the second in the heart of the kingdom, in one of his capitals ; and the third in the Chalukya-dominated Belvola area. Their distribution is as suggestive as the subtle variations found in their styles and finish. The temple at Talakad was built in granite and, although planned by the Hoysala architects, it was actually executed by the traditional Dravidian artists of their area.[12] The temple at Gadag was built by the veteran Chalukyan artists who employed their cultivated skill and utilised the medium long

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8 *ASMAR.*, 1912, p. 11.

9 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Rl. 71 ; *Ibid.*, XIV, TN. 184 and 191 ; Sr. 232.

10 While there is either direct or indirect evidence regarding Vishnuvardhana's association with the *Vaishnava* temples at Talakad, Belur and Tonnur, he induced or inspired others to build them elsewhere. The Janardana temple at Kallavatti was either erected by himself or by his brother (*Ibid.*, V, H 107) ; his general built another at Marale with his patronage (*Ibid.*, VI, Cm. 137) ; his queen Bommaladevi rebuilt and endowed to a Vishnu temple at Nagamangala (*Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 1) ; and this is true of the temples built at Ananti (*Ibid.*, V, Cn. 199 and 200) and Undigenahal (*Ibid.*, Ak. 18).

11 The temples built by the Hoysalas before the accession of Vishnuvardhana have none of the features of the style which came to be associated with the structures built under the later Hoysalas. For all practical reasons, the Vishnu temples at Belur, Talakad and Gadag etc., are the first clear examples of the structures belonging to this dynasty.

12 *ASMAR.*, 1932, pp. 3 ff.

familiar to them.[13] The temple at Belur was built in potstone by probably a majority of artists from the Chalukyan area, but it was planned to suit the enthusiastic atmosphere prevailing in the new capital and to be commensurate with the wealth and vanity of the time.[14] There was dearth neither of wealth nor of enthusiasm and the doors of the royal treasury were practically thrown open to meet the demands and aspirations of the people.

The temple at Belur is the finest and the most splendid of the structure built by the Hoysala kings and the best among the *Sri-Vaishnava* works in Karnatak. Contrary to popular belief very few temples were actually built by kings. They normally set an example and receded into the background leaving the followers of different orders to build to their faiths. Almost every one of the rulers tolerated all faiths, contributed generously for the maintenance of temples and *agraharas*, shared the enthusiasm of different sects, carefully negotiated the ecclesiastical disputes, but judiciously spent from the state exchequer. Excepting about half a dozen temples, the majority of those that survive to the present owe their origin to certain individuals rather than to kings.[15]

The rise of *Sri Vaishnavism* and the spread of its popularity, partly through the construction of splendid temples and the foundation of prosperous *agraharas*, caused a stir in the spiritual atmosphere in the 12th century. *Saivism* and Jainism were very popular in this region and the followers of these faiths had long vied with one another. However, the Jains, despite the erection of a colossus on Vindhyagiri and some interesting structures on Chandragiri in Sravanabelgola, Kambadahalli and elsewhere, had hardly aspired to build temples of the type found in the Chalukyan region.[16] The achievement of the Saivas to the south of Balligamve was as unimpressive as that of the Jains.[17] With the fall of the Gangas and a general decline in the popularity of Jainism, the *Saivas* emerged

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13 Unfortunately a detailed account of this temple has not been given so far—see, H. Cousens, *The Chalukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Calcutta, 1926, p. 109.

14 *ASMAR*., 1931, pp. 26; R. Narasimhachar, *The Kesava temple at Belur*, Bangalore, 1918.

15 Of these, the Vishnu temples at Belur (*ASMAR* 1932, pp. 3 ff.), Isvara temple at Arasikere (*ASMAR*., 1930, pp. 61 ff.), Poysalesvara temple at Kannanur (Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.* pl. facing p. 36) are obvious examples.

16 The most conspicuous of the Jaina *bastis* erected in their own style, or nearly so, were the *Akkana basti* at Sravanabelgola (*Ep. Carn*., II, Intro. p. 27), Santisvara *basti* at Jinanathapura (*Ibid*., pp. 32-33), Parsvanatha *basti* at Nittur (*ASMAR*., 1934, p. 29), Santisvara *basti* at Kambadahalli (*Ibid*., 1939, pp. 47 ff.) and Adinatha *basti* at Markuli (*Ibid*., 1925, pp. 1).

17 Although a number of important *Saiva* centres exist in southern Mysore State, the temples built there do not compare favourably with those found in the Shimoga, Bellary, Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Dts.

into prominence, but they hardly celebrated the event by putting up huge structures within Gangavadi. The *Sri Vaishnava* movement and its spread changed the situation considerably. The only alternative left for the *Saivas* to maintain their popularity among the masses was by emulating the example of the *Sri Vaishnavas* and by building temples of equal or even greater size and splendour. Observed in the narrow span of time and space of the early 12th century in the Gangavadi region, it appears that the *Saivas* followed the *Sri Vaishnava* example,[18] but this should not lead one to conclude that the *Saivas* learnt the art of building large and ornate structures from *Sri Vaishnavas*. The artists of Gangavadi had a distinguished record, but their experiments were mostly confined to the Dravidian style. When the Hoysalas, as the heirs to the Ganga dynasty, succeeded to a part of the Chalukyan empire, they bridged the gulf between the Ganga and the Chalukyan traditions. In this context, the mode of art adopted under Vishnuvardhana appears to be new to the region where it thrived and different from what had been, and also the causes wich it served.

The *Saivas* were quicker than the Jains in recognising the importance of splendid temples and they almost immediately emulated the example of the *Sri Vaishnavas*. Belur became the heart of *Sri Vaishnava* activity, Dorasamudra (modern Halebid) became the heart of *Saiva* activity. Splendid *Vaishnava* temples were built at Belur,[19] Talakad,[20] Marale,[21] Honnavara,[22] Hullekere,[23] Nagamangala[24] between 1117 and 1173. Equally important structures for Siva were established at Dorasamudra,[25] Marale,[26] Anekonda,[27] Tenginagatta,[28] and Koravangala.[29] Although the majority of the *Vaishnava* structures of the first 25 years owe their origin directly or indirectly to Vishnuvardhana, this was hardly the case under Narasimha. Four years after the construction of the Chennakesava temple at Belur, the Hoysalesvara was built at Dorasamudra. As if to rival the achievement of the *Vaishnavas* and to celebrate their

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[18] This remark is based on the fact that the Hoysalesvara temple, the first great *Saiva* monument, was built some years after the Vishnu temples at Belur, Talakad, Gadag etc.

[19] *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl. 91.

[20] *Ibid.*, XIV, TN. 178, 184 and 191.

[21] *Ibid*, VI, Cm. 137.

[22] *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 65.

[23] *Ibid.*, Ak. 172.

[24] *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 1.

[25] *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 116.

[26] *Ibid.*, VI, Cm. 140.

[27] *ASMAR.*, 1912.

[28] *Ibid.*, 1915, p. 51.

[29] *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn. 72, 76 and 71.

re-emergence, the *Saivas* erected a structure that has never been surpassed in size and has hardly been rivalled in architectural skill and artistic beauty by any, either in Karnatak or in its neighbourhood. This healthy rivalry between the *Saivas* and *Sri Vaishnavas* intensified the building propensity, but in the course of time it also led to bigotry and fanaticism. However, from the very beginning some broad-minded men tried to create an atmosphere for a healthy spiritual activity. A large number of *agraharas* contained *Sri Vaishnava* and *Saiva* colonies and temples dedicated to their respective lords. Poets praised Vishnu as well as Siva in their compositions and scribes engraved them on stone. Architects planned temples in such a way that the gods of almost every pantheon and every order could find a place on the outer wall. This must have been foremost in their mind when they planned elaborate structures of multiple cells and niches, and of crowded halls and walls, that made the Hoysala temple look more like an over-filled opera house. The same idea must have led to the popularisation of gods like Harihara, Surya, Brahma and Sakti who were acceptable to all. An inscription of 1130 voices this in the following words:

"Embraced by the arms of Sri, may Hari ever grant abundant prosperity. May Kesava protect you. . . Whether holding the *sankha* or *kapala*, why make any difference? whether the *chakra* is in the hand or the *trisula*, why distinguish between the weapons? in token of which they assume one form with two hearts, the joyful Hara, may they ever protect the three worlds."[30]

Besides Harihara, the images of Surya, Brahma and Sakti in her various manifestations also became popular for they were acceptable to *Saivas* as well as *Sri Vaishnavas*. These images were not only enshrined in one of the cells, but were placed on the outer walls and niches of temples. We do not know whether the multiplication of the gods and goddesses and the idea of portraying them in or on the temple influenced the style of architecture or whether the peculiar planning of the architects led to the multiplication of gods and goddesses. However, each served the other and the emergence of a new temple style re-emphasised the multiple forms of the single energy.

Second Stage: The Climax

Vira Ballala, who was born to king Narasimha and queen Echale, disliked his father's uneventful career from the beginning and usurped the throne in 1173 A.D.[31] He ruled for about fifty years and bequeathed to his son a kingdom that was very much larger and more prosperous than the one which he had inherited. He spent

30 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Cm. 137.
31 Derrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 75ff.

the major part of his career fighting against the Chalukyan subordinates in the north and effectively imposed his suzerainty over the area about and across the Tungabhadra.[32] Before he died, he inaugurated a policy that made the Hoysalas important in Tamil politics. Narasimha II pursued the policies of his father, practically dominated the Tamilnad and dictated terms to Cholas and Pandyas. The Hoysalas and Cholas developed matrimonial alliances and both Vira Ballala and his son Narasimha, stood by the side of Cholas in their wars against Pandyas and restored the former to the throne when they were defeated and deposed by the Pandyas and by the Kadavas.[33] The Hoysalas extended their authority up to Kanchi and their victorious armies marched as far south as the tip of the peninsula. Narasimha died fighting in Tamilnad but before he died, he strengthened his hold over its major portion and cemented it by establishing matrimonial alliances with the Cholas and the Pandyas.

The reigns of Vira Ballala II (1173–1220) and of Narasimha II (1220–1239) were eventful not only from the political and military points of view, but also from the point of view of the progress made in the cultural or artistic arena. During the fifty years of the rule of Vira Ballala, hundreds of temples were built in the kingdom. The Jains were the last to fall in line and adopt the new architectural style in Gangavadi. Despite the interesting structures erected at Halebid, Kambadahalli and Chamarajanagara under Vishnuvardhana, Sravana Belgola and in its neighbourhood under Narasimha, it is curious to note that the Jains did not completely exploit the popular style of the day until they built the *Akkana basti*, *Nagara-jinalaya* at Sravana Belgola, *Trikuta basti* at Markuli and *Santisvara basti* at Jinanathapura. The last was to the Jains what the Chennakesava temple at Belur and the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid were to *Vaishnavas* and *Saivas* respectively. The Jains took more than a century to accept the importance of then ornate structures and to adopt the new style to their spiritual purposes; as a result, the service rendered by the art to their religion and by their religion to the art is extremely limited and hardly significant.

A survey of available epigraphical records shows that the number of temples built under Vira Ballala was almost equivalent to the number of temples built by all the kings who ruled before him, on the one hand, and all those that ruled after him, on the other.[34] He considerably altered the Chennakesava temple at Belur

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 80ff.

[33] K. R. Venkataraman, *Hoysalas in the Tamil Country*, Annamalainagar, 1950, pp. 10ff., and Derrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 104ff.

[34] Epigraphical evidence for not less than 684 temples is found roughly in Karnatak itself. Of these 684, not less than 170 *Saiva*, 54 Jaina, 29 *Vaishnava* and

by adding latticed-windows, door-frames, door-lintels; ramparts, pavilions and ponds.[35] Although Ballala did not build many temples, he generously contributed to the upkeep of many.[36] Temples of Vishnu were built during his time at Ammale,[37] Sindaghatta,[38] Tarikere,[39] Kolathur,[40] Madhusudanapura,[41] Alambur,[42] Santigrama,[43] Kesiyahalli,[44] Heragu[45] and elsewhere within the familiar homeland. Ballala's reign witnessed an intense spiritual activity among the *Saivas.* Their temples were both numerically and architecturally far superior to those of *Sri Vaishnavas.* There is epigraphical evidence for not less than 80 new *Saiva* temples,[46] and another fifty can be assigned to this period with certainty.[47] This

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3 Sakti temples were built before Vira Ballala II came to power. During his rule 151 *Saiva*, 29 Jaina and 20 *Vaishnava* and some Sakti temples were built. Between his death and the end of the Hoysala rule not less than 122 *Saiva*, 43 *Vaishnava*, 15 Jaina and 7 Sakti temples were built.

This estimate is based on the available inscriptions and the survey is roughly confined to the modern Karnatak area. The number of temples may not be absolutely correct, but it shows the general trend of building activity and the proportion of temples built by various religions or sects.

35 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl. 72.

36 This is evident from the following records: *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Kd. 4; V, Bl. 118; Hn. 71. Ak. 38; *ASMAR.*, 1934, pp. 76 ff; *Ep. Carn.*, V, Cn. 209; *Ibid.*, VI, Cm. 77; *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 127; *SII.*, XV, No. 208, p. 251, Nos. 319, 320; *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 44; *Ibid.*, XV, Bl. 375; *Ibid.*, VI, Tk. 45; *SII.*, XV, No. 210; *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl. 77; *SII.*, IX, 1, No. 326; *Ibid.*, XV, No. 220; *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Cd. 79 etc., etc.

37 *Ep. Carn.* VI, Cm. 21.

38 *Ibid.*, IV, Kr. 69.

39 *ASMAR.*, 1932, pp. 123ff.

40 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Cm. 152.

41 *Ibid.*, Ak. 130, 131 and 132.

42 *Ibid.*, Ak. 118.

43 *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 48.

44 *ASMAR.*, 1940, pp. 102ff.

45 *Ep., Carn.*, VI, Kd. 129.

46 From inscriptions we come to know of the temples erected for Siva at Lalanakere, Karadihalli, Hiriyur, Koravangala, Kittanakere, Mudugere, Sannenahalli, Murundi, Belur, Malanahalli, Kottikere, Yadavanahalli, Kudlur, Balagatta, Nandi, Dodda Jattiga, Hullenahalli, Khandya, Karanagatta, Kallukere, Chennarayapatna, Hirehalli, Changavadi, Duggalapura, Attigere, Arsikere, Talilur, Antaravalli, Kabbali, Kuruvanka, Hemmanahalli, Banavur, Jannavara, Demayyanahalli, Asandi, Okkalugere, Nidugatta, Jajur, Panditahalli, Kanikatte, Amritapura, Madanahalli, Koligunda, Kukkanur Koppa, Goggana Hosur, Jade Katur, Bellur, Belagumba, Hebbolalu, Bedana Tondanur, Gijehalli, Mattihalli, Sadarahalli, Sante Gadur, Satenahalli, Kuruva, Hiriyur, Bittenahalli, Chikka Yagati, Gerahalli, Honnakatte, Kanchigallu, Dorasamudra, Alakanalu, Kogundi, Talatore, Kudutini, Kanchigallu, Sivaneyahalli, Khandalipur, Nad Kalase, Taluru, Hiri Kalukani, Handalakere, Uyya Gavundanahalli, Malidevihalli, Banapura, Kalikatte etc., etc.

47 Inscriptions of the following places support this: Kundur, Kuppehalli, Hiriyur, Nagapuri, Jannihalli, Saligrama, Hemnanhalli, Ottiyakere, Belur, Sivapura, Mudukutore, Sindaghatta, Saragur, Somanahalli, Kainadu, Nerlakere,

was a period when enthusiastic *Saiva* communities expended their wealth on temples, tanks and *Sivapuras*. The *Gojjas*, *Vira Banajjigas*, *Gavares*, *Settis*, *Koyilalgal*, *Nakharas*, *Mummuridandas* and *Telligas* were some among them. The Gojjesvara, Gavaresvara, Koylalesvara, Nakharesvara, Telligesvara temples derived their names from these communities. The most notable of their structures are the temples of Amritesvara at Amritapura,[48] Isvara at Arasikere,[49] Mahalingesvara at Mavutanahalli,[50] Chattesvara at Chatachattanahalli,[51] Trimurti at Bandalike,[52] Siddhesvara at Kodakani,[53] Kedaresvara and Virabhadra at Halebid,[54] Isvara at Nandi-Tavare[55] and Buchesvara at Koravangala[56] etc. The king built the Kedaresvara at Halebid and the Isvara temple at Arsikere.[57] The latter has certain unique architectural merits among the temples of the time. Temples were also constructed at Sateyanahalli,[58] Kogundi,[59] Kuditini,[60] Talur[61] and probably at Nandi-Tavare,[62] Hire Emmiganur,[63] Kundavada,[64] Ganjigatta,[65] Benniyur,[66] Dehutageri,[67] Kuruvatti[68] and Magala.[69] Even the Siddhesvara temple at Haveri appears to have undergone a considerable transformation during this period.[70] These temples, constructed north of Gangavadi, mark the first effective penetration of the Hoysala activities into the Chalukyan territory.

Balligamve, Arsikere, Heragu, Holalkere, Belavadi, Kaddarahalli, Budihalu, Dodda Tekalavatti, Tondanur, Asandi, Puspagiri of Halebid, Kudlur, Kuruvatti, Muduvadi, Dehutageri, Benniyur, Ganjigere, Kunkanadu, Chittur, Bettur, Honnavalli, Ganjigatta, Didagur, Hurali, Chattanahalli, Kundavada (?), Hiri Yammiganur, Nandi Tavare etc., etc.

48 *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk. 45 ; *ASMAR* 1931, pp. 6ff.

49 *Ibid.*, XV, Ak. 205 ; *ASMAR* 1930, pp. 61ff.

50 *ASMAR.*, 1911, pp. 4ff.

51 *Ibid.*, 1933, pp. 90ff.

52 *Ibid.*, 1941, pp. 93ff.

53 *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 20.

54 *Ibid.*, 1930, pp. 49ff., 59ff.

55 *Ibid.*, 1937, pp. 64ff.

56 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn. 71.

57 *ASMAR.*, 1931, pp. 49–50 and 1930 pp. 61ff. respectively.

58 *KI.*, IV, No. 1.

59 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Cd. 79.

60 *SII.*, IX, 1, No. 336.

61 *Ibid.*, No. 335.

62 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Dg. 69.

63 *Ibid.*, Ht. 56.

64 *Ibid.*, Dg. 105.

65 *Ibid.*, Cd. 23.

66 *SII.*, XV, Nos. 210–211.

67 *Ibid.*, Nos. 210–211.

68 *Ibid.*, IX, 1, No. 320.

69 *Ibid.*, No. 333.

70 *BK* No. 88 of 1932–1933.

Narasimha continued the work of his father, both political and cultural, and enriched the land over which he ruled. The most notable structures of his period were the Hariharesvara at Harihara,[71] Somesvara and Kesava at Harnahalli,[72] Mulasingesvara at Bellur[73] and Mallikarjuna at Basral.[74] During the rule of Narasimha, temples were also built to the north of Gangavadi,[75] especially at Kogali, Sogi, Bennekallu, Hire Emmiganur etc.

During the rule of Ballala II and Narasimha II, the rivalry between the *Saivas* and the *Sri Vaishnavas* appears to have reached a point tendingtowards hatred. But broad-minded men of the time tried to maintain harmony between rival sects and emphasise that God is one whether he is called Hari or Hara. As early as the time of Narasimha I, Hariharapura *agrahara* was founded at Kellengere and in 1163,[75] a temple for Narayanisvara (Narayana and Isvara) temple was built at Sivara.[77] The Achyutesvara temple was established at Vira Ballalapura in 1186,[78] a triple temple for Madhusudana, Mallikarjuna and Surya was established at Madhusudanapura.[79] Men like Tantrapala Hemmadi, Dhurmana-Nayaka and others continued to set lofty examples.[80] Despite the efforts of these catholic individuals, the gulf between the *Saivas* and the *Vaishnavas* became increasingly conspicuous. Though it is difficult to trace its silent development, this appears to have become clearly recognisable when the *Saivas* erected their temples within the enclosure of the Chennakesvara temple at Belur.[81] This was more or less an intrusion into an exclusive colony of the *Sri Vaishnava*. The *Vaishnavas* appear to have reacted to this in the same way and established a temple for Vishnu (Krishna) at Halebid[82] which had till then remained a predominantly *Saiva* and Jaina town. The Brahmins of various *agraharas* frequently came into conflict with one another over personal and temple interests. Although the kings extended their patronage to all faiths, they sometimes put their weight unduly on one side or the other. During the time of Vira Ballala II and Somesvara, the *Saivas* were able to make more progress than the *Vaishnavas*, whereas during the time of Narasimha II and Narasimha

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71 *ASMAR.*, 1937, pp. 50ff.
72 *Ibid.*, 1933, pp. 52ff.
73 *Ibid.*, 1941, pp. 67ff.
74 *Ibid.*, 1934, pp. 36ff.
75 *SII.*, IX, I, No. 317 ; Nos. 341–42, 343 ; *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Ht. 56 etc.
76 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Ak. 117.
77 *Ibid.*, XII, Tp. 66.
78 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 175.
79 *Ibid.*, Ak. 118.
80 *Ibid.*, Bl. 86 ; *EC* IV, Ng. 15 respectively.
81 *ASMAR.*, 1934, pp. 76ff.
82 *ARE.*, 1937, No. 70.

III, the *Sri Vaishnavas* appear more prominently in their records. However, the disharmony between the two rival groups becomes very common and conspicuous after the reign of Narasimha II.

Third Phase: Strained Efforts and Sudden Breakdown

Somesvara, one of the sons of Narasimha II by queen Kalale, was a Tamil by upbringing and a Karnatak by inheritance. He spent his early life in Tamilnad, succeeded to the empire that was larger and more cosmopolitan than it had been at any time before. He ruled between 1235 and 1260, but his earliest records go back to 1229 A.D.[83] He was obviously a staunch *Saiva* and as such he seems to have made no efforts to hide his religious bias. He was the first Hoysala ruler to build notable temples in Tamilnad. He ruled more from Kannanur than from Halebid. He was deeply involved in Tamil politics. He fought against the Kadavas and the Telugu Chodas, protected the Cholas by inflicting defeats on Pandya kings and ultimately made the Pandya kingdom his own protectorate. In 1235 A.D., he established the Poysalesvara temple at Kannanur,[84] added the shrines of Ballalesvara, Padmalesvara, Narasimhesvara and Somalesvara at Tiruvanaikkovil,[85] and built a seven-storied gateway to Jambunatha-Akhilandesvara at the latter place.[86] Near about Halebid rose magnificent structures at Nuggihalli[87] and Govindanahalli[88] probably at Javagal,[89] Budanur,[90] Nagalapura,[91] Hulikal,[92] Tandaga[93] and Hosaholalu.[94] The *Saivas* enjoyed what may be called the last phase of their prosperity under his rule.

Although Somesvara was a *Saiva* we have very little evidence to prove that he discouraged or hindered the progress of the *Sri Vaishnavas*. The Lakshminarasimha temples at Nuggihalli and Javagal, the Kesava temple at Nagalapura and Tandaga, and the Lakshminarayana temple at Hosaholalu were built during this period, although none of these owes its origin to the king. According to an inscription of Jatavarman Sundara Pandya I, Somesvara "reduced to a pitiable state the lotus-pond of Srirangam",[95] a

83 *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj. 36.
84 *ARE.*, 1891, Nos. 18 and 20.
85 *Ibid.*, No. 18; *ARE* 1937, No. 119.
86 *Ibid.*, No. 19.
87 *ASMAR.*, 1933, pp. 20ff.
88 *Ibid.*, pp. 15ff.
89 *Ibid.*, pp. 71ff.
90 *Ibid.*, 1934, pp. 48ff.
91 *Ibid.*, 1939, pp. 53ff.
92 *Ibid.*, p. 63.
93 *Ibid.*, p. 69.
94 *Ibid.*, 1933, p. 3.
95 *Ep. Carn.*, III, p. 14.

famous *Vaishnava* centre. In Tamilnad the relationship between the *Saivas* and *Sri Vaishnavas* reached its lowest ebb at this time and the interminable bickerings between the rival groups often led to the desecration of temples and even to the destruction of sacred places and temples. The *agraharas* had become hot-beds of sectarian feeling and breeding centres of fanaticism and hatred. At Akkur, Tirukkadiyur *Saivas* objected to the use of a passage and a well by the *Sri Vaishnavas* and threatened the men of their own order who freely mixed with the *Sri Vaishnavas* with the forfeiture of their property.[96] At Tirumayyam one such dispute led to the plunging of the gods of rival groups into a tank and to the desecration of temples.[97] This antagonism swept over Karnatak and aggravated the already strained relations between the *Saivas* and *Sri Vaishnavas*. Temple lands were reorganised and disputes settled at Halebid,[98] Somanatha-Sivapura,[99] Ramanathapura,[100] Gudugere,[101] Harnahalli[102] and in many other places. We can hardly view the structures of this period without taking this background into account. Rarely do the architects and sculptors betray this atmosphere, but the historical evidence does.

If Somesvara's rule was the last glorious phase for the *Saivas*, the time of Narasimha III was the last period of prosperity for the *Sri Vaishnavas*. After the death of Somesvara, the kingdom was divided into two—Narasimha III succeeded to the Karnatak area and ruled from Dorasamudra, while his brother Ramanatha succeeded to the Tamil area and ruled from Kannanur. The disputes between the brothers and the external political and military pressures engaged the rulers in a constant warfare, and, naturally, extravagant spending on temples was not possible. The only notable *Saiva* temple of the time was the Mulesankara at Turuvekere.[103] Vishnu temples were built at Turuvekere,[104] Somanathapura,[105] Bellur,[106] Hole Narasipura,[107] Vighnasante[108] etc. Of these, the temple at Somanathapura is the greatest. This temple symbolises the last phase of the Hoysala artistic activity and reveals all the inherited virtues and the predominant vices of the time. It is

96 *ARE.*, 1925, No. 229; *Ibid.*, 1937, No. 74.

97 *Chronological list of Inscriptions of the Pudukkottai State*, Nos.340–41.

98 *Ep. Carn.*, XV, Bl. 325.

99 *Ibid.*, III, Md. 62b.

100 *Ibid.*, XV, Bl. 324.

101 *ASMAR.*, 1946–56, pp. 102ff.

102 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Ak, 123.

103 *ASMAR.*, 1934, pp. 28ff.

104 *Ibid.*, 1934, pp. 27ff.

105 *Ibid.*, 1932, pp. 16ff.

106 *Ibid.*, 1941, pp. 67ff.

107 *Ibid.*, 1933, pp. 35ff.

108 *Ibid.*,1939, pp. 74ff.

indeed a great temple built with considerable experience, energy and wealth, but in the construction of this temple the last ounce of Hoysala energy and enthusiasm seems to have been spent. Somanadannayaka, its patron, was a child of his age. He constructed this temple for Vishnu and another for Siva according to a well-established tradition, but these temples appear to have been built to satisfy the needs of the sectarian groups. Gone were the days of the Isvara temple at Arsikere where the enshrined god was Isvara while the outer wall images were those of Vishnu. In this huge structure of Somanathapura, we find very little space, either within the temple or on the outer wall, devoted to the gods of rival pantheons.[109]

After Narasimha's rule the empire was reunited by Vira Ballala III. His cultural inheritance obviously became a burden to him. As he was desperately struggling a gainst internal enemies and spending all that he could on the military, he was hardly able to to establish structures of the size and splendour of his ancestors. All that he did. or tried to do, was to repair and restore the disintegrating structures, not only temples, but social, political and economic structures, as well. Ballala must have felt that his ancestors, in their frenzy for glory, had built too many temples and had spent too much of wealth and energy. He desperately struggled to save all that the Hoysala empire had stood for. He was treacherously murdered by his political rival at Kundani, while the Hoysala style was surreptitiously strangled by sectarian zealots. Both died leaving very little impact on their successors; but, for centuries, the dynastic leaders and chieftains that ruled over this area were, proud of their glorious cultural legacy.

[109] It is curious to note that not even a single outer wall sculpture represents any major Saiva deity. Among the smaller reliefs on railings and elsewhere one or two are supposed to represent Siva (*ASMAR.*, 1932, pp. 16ff.) but a closer examination reveals that those are not carved to represent Siva but Ashtadikpalas.

8

Hoysala Influence on the Vijayanagar Art

K. V. RAMAN

THE Vijayanagar Period witnessed a great resurgence of Hindu art, literature and religion. All that was best in our ancient literature, religious traditions and art-heritage received fresh treatment and patronage. The Vijayanagar School of Art which held its own for well over 300 years and flourished in a vast territory, comprising multilingual provinces, had a unique peninsular character. For the first time, in the history of South India, a single dynasty ruled over the entire south—Andhra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala—and naturally, its art-styles had acquired a composite character of its own. Several strains of art-traditions which were prevalent have gone into the making of the rich mosaic of Vijayanagar art and architecture. It has assimilated different art styles and evolved a unified fabric.

Among them, two are very distinct—the Karnataka and the Tamil. These were the two regions, where the temple architecture and sculptural art had had a continuous flow and, especially at that time, were under the spell of the two great schools of architecture —the Pandya and the Hoysala. Towards the end of the 13th century, the Pandyas held sway over the entire Tamil country and even upto Nellore and the Hoysalas over Karnataka. The Second Pandyan empire under great monarchs like Maravarman Sundara I and Jatavarman Sundara I set a new trend in the art of temple construction with a bold emphasis on stately *gopuras* and spacious pavilions with tall and multi-faceted columns, which were the harbingers of Vijayanagar ornamental pavilions and towers. For the first time, the outer precincts of the temple received special attention from which the Vijayanagar artists took the cue and developed further on the same lines. The plethora of ornamental pavilions that cropped up during the Vijayanagara times, such as the *Kalyana-mandapa*, the *Unjal-mandapa*, *Vasanta-mandapa*, *Vahana-mandapa* etc., with their magnificent composite columns etc., was only a spectacular outgrowth of the stately Pandyan prototypes which preceded them. In fact, even the vital corbel-style of the Vijayanagar, namely the *Pushpa-podika* (flower bud pillar-bracket) was an adaptation from the Pandyan *Pumunai* corbel. What was

already there in an incipient stage was developed by Vijayanagar in an emphatic way. Similarly, the *gopura* style found at Hampi is largely modelled on the *gopuras* that became the fashion of the day during the later Chola and the Pandyan times. In fact, all stately gopuras in Tamil Nadu are generally named as *Sundara Pandyan Gopura*.

In the general ground plan and the outer model of the temples and its various auxiliary structures, the Vijayanagar School followed the southern tradition. But in the thematic content and plastic modelling and disposition, Vijayanagar art was profoundly influenced by the Hoysala School. Though by the time the Vijayanagar empire was established in A.D. 1336, the heyday of Hoysala art had already passed, the influence of Halebid and Belur had their own timeless spell on the neighbouring art-forms and styles. Hampi could not escape from the pervasive influence of Dvarasamudra. The Hoysala examples were, in many ways, the precursors of the Vijayanagar heritage in art and literature.

In this paper, I confine my attention to the art-themes, religious and secular, which the Vijayanagar artisans took up and developed. If the Pandyan tradition had enriched the Vijayanagar style in the outer model or form of the *gopura* and the *mandapas*, the Hoysala inheritance in the Vijayanagar repertoire can be gleaned in the sculptural themes aud decorative motifs. The influence is unmistakable and eloquent. In fact, when one, who has seen the three Hoysala gems—the temples of Belur, Halebid and Somnathpur—goes to Hampi, Vellore or Kanchi, one will be struck by the commonness of the sculptural themes and also the close kinship in the stylistic disposition. Particular attention may be drawn to a few puranic and secular themes, which have been handled more or less in a similar way by the Hoysala and the Vijayanagara artists. It is not only in the selection of episodes but also in the arrangement and rendering of them, we see a striking parallel.

It is well-known that in the wake of all-round Hindu revivalism under Vijayanagar, there was a great swing-back to the ancient lore. Commentaries on the Vedas, translations of the epics, dramatisation of many Puranic themes and heroes became the fashion of the day. There was a tremendous urge to revive and popularise the ancient literary and religious legacy in the new literary forms. Treatises on the ancient Hindu heroes like Rama, Lakshmana, Krishna and Balarama, Hanuman, Arjuna, Bhima etc. were to serve as models for the people to emulate. To cite only a few examples, Vidyaranya wrote his Commentary on the Vedas, Potana translated the *Bhagavata* into Telugu; Krishnadevaraya himself dramatised the *Jambavati Kalyana* in five acts; Saluva Narasimha wrote a *kavya* on the life of Rama named *Ramabhyu-*

dayam. In short, a growing and renewed interest was shown in recounting or re-enacting the classical exploits of the *puranic* heroes in order to serve as a rallying point for the Hindu population in an age which demanded valour and heroism to face external threats.

This great urge to revive and popularise old epic and puranic themes seems to have animated the sculptures and paintings of the Vijayanagara times as well. Never before was the plastic art dominated so much by the epic and puranic themes, except perhaps under the Hoysalas. A great desire is evident on the part of the Vijayanagara artists to give visual representations to the Indian classical stories found in the *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata* and *Bhagavata* in the temple structures to inspire and educate even the common folk. In the depiction of the puranic themes, the Vijayanagara artists had excellent precedents in the superb examples of the Hoysala sculptures which undoubtedly served as their models. Some of the puranic episodes that are seen depicted in the Hoysala and Vijayanagara temples, more or less in the similar sequence and style, are :

Ramayana Scene : Dasaratha receiving the *havis* from Rishyasringa and distributing it to his queens; Rama breaking the bow ; Rama shooting the seven *sala* trees with an arrow in front of Sugriva (The Vijayanagara sculptures, following the Hoysala models, show the trees being supported by a serpant. This is seen at Halebid, Hampi and Kanchi in more or less identical manner) ; Vali-Sugriva fight—all these episodes are found in Belur, Halebid, Hampi and Kanchi. In addition to what they adopted from the Hoysala, the Vijayanagara artists laid special emphasis on Hanuman whom they depicted in all glorified postures like Vira Hanuman, Hanuman with even *Sankha* and *Chakra*, as depicted in the Varadarajaswami Temple, Kanchi. Hanuman was hailed for his dedicated service and heroism.

Bhagavata Stories : Similarly, the stories connected with Krishna's life at different stages as a child, as a grown up and mischievous lad, had inspired the Hoysala and the Vijayanagar artists alike. Here too, there is clear evidence to show that the latter had followed the model set by the former. Some of the favourite scenes depicted were : Krishna stealing the butter ; Krishna tied to the mortar by Yasoda ; lifting up the Govardhana hill ; stealing the sarees (*Vastrapaharana*). Similar depictions of the above incidents can be seen at Halebid, Somnathpur and Hampi and the Varadarajaswami temple, Kanchi. The former are of course more minutely carved, the latter more boldly done with some inevitable stylization. But at Halebid, we have a more elaborate and detailed depiction of the Mahabharata war and the exploits

of Karna, Arjuna, and his son Abhimanyu etc. Such elaborate treatment is of course not found in the Vijayanagar work. But they chose a few episodes here and there and tried to project them.

Other themes: Similar Hoysala inspiration is seen in some of the scenes connected with Narasimha killing Hiranya, and other *Dasavatara* stories like Trivikrama, Varaha, etc. found in Halebid and also in Hampi and Kanchi. Vishnu as Mohini, Rati and Manmatha shown in all their beauty, were especially chosen by the Vijayanagar artists as their favourite themes on their columns of the *Kalyana-mandapa*. The affinity is not only in the choice of the episodes and themes but also in the arrangement and depiction of the same.

In short, the Hoysala sculptures can be called the true forerunners of the Vijayanagar sculptures. In their content and style, they had inspired the later School and helped in the burgeoning of a new and composite style. From the point of view of workmanship and finish, the Hoysala examples are undoubtedly superb. Since they were done in soft soap stone, the sculptural panels or friezes could convey every detail the artists wanted to put on the convas. But the Vijayanagar artists, working as they did on the hard granite, could not go to that extent. Hence, comparatively speaking, the Vijayanagar specimens lack the Hoysala finish and fineness and are also more stylised in their appearance. They are much bolder and emphatic but certainly lack the delicate and the almost feminine charm of the Hoysals examples. In the boldness of depiction and the general massive outlines, the Vijayanagar School was much nearer to the later Pandyan examples with which it shared many other qualities also. But the theme-conception and composition were an inheritance from the Hoysalas. The exuberance of the style of Vijayanagar is also surely in the footsteps of the Hoysalas, but their raw material imposed certain obvious limitations which made them concentrate their attention on the mass and the volume rather than the intricate details. No doubt, the Hoysala technique and delicate fineness remained unsurpassable, but their general quality, content and norms profoundly influenced the Vijayanagar art-productions.

EPIGRAPHY

9

Gudnapur Inscription of Kadamba Ravivarma

B. R. GOPAL

GUDNAPURA is about 5 kilometres to the north-west of Banavasi in North Kanara District. In the third week of March 1971, my colleague, Dr. A. Sundara of the Karnatak University and myself were exploring this region for antiquities. It was in the course of this survey that I stumbled upon the present epigraph. I am thankful to sjts. D. R. Bhat, M. C. Wodeyar, M. R. Anavatti and Prin. L. T. Sharma for their generous help during this survey.

This record is engraved on four faces of a pillar about 20 feet high. The pillar is square at the botton and after a height of about 16 feet, it is octagonal, as in the case of the Talagunda pillar inscription.[1] But, whereas the shaft of that pillar is octagonal, 6 feet 4 inches high, each face being 7 inches wide but tapering slowly towards the top, the pedestal of our pillar is longer than the shaft, being almost thrice longer, and the octagonal part of the pillar does not taper. Of course, unfortunately the top portion of the pillar is broken and lost.

Like the Banavasi inscription of Kadamba Mrigesavarma,[2] this record is also engraved from the bottom to top commencing from one of the four faces and continued on all the other faces, before the second line is engraved on top of the first, on the first face. There are in all 27 lines of writing. From the 23rd line onwards the epigraph is engraved on the central part of the octagonal portion above the four faces of the square.

The pillar is badly damaged and therefore there is a great deal of lacuna in the epigraph. When I discovered the epigraph, only the last three lines on the four faces and 5 lines on the octagonal part were visible. I had to get the pillar dug out. But the base part of it had been broken and when the entire writing was exposed, the pillar, now loose from the earth, fell flat. The base of the pillar was found lying nearby but there was no trace of writing on it. It is clear that the pillar had been moved from its original place and, perhaps in doing so, it broke into two. Much of the written part

1 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 176.

2 *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Prof. P. B. Desai felicitation Volume), pp. 57-62.

was covered up with mud and erected again nearby, the base of the pillar being moved away to a distance.

As can be seen from the text given below, the writing on the third and the fourth faces of the pillar is fairly well preserved, while a great deal of damage has been caused to the first two faces, more so to the first. In fact, the bottom half of this portion, to the right, is also worn out and the letters thereupon are almost illegible. From line 16 onwards, upto line 22 the writing is well preserved. The third face of the pillar has been the victim of children's pranks. The stone has a number of scratches and holes wantonly made.

The record commences with an invocatory verse in *Malini* wherein there is a reference to a god (?) who is described as Manmatha (cupid) to the women and probably also as *syamabahuh*. The verse is available only in fragments.

From line 2 commences an account of the Kadamba family. In the Manavya-gotra was born a brahmin named Virasarma. He is described as well-versed in all the *Vedas* (*vedakulamatih*) and as the son of Hariti (Hariti-putra). It then states that this brahmin built an abode (*vesma*). But, here again, the details are lost. His family came to be known as Kadamba and it shone like a sun's disc on earth.

His eldest son (*jyeshthah*) was Bandhushena who developed the characters of a *kshatriya*. His son Mayuravarmma was well versed in all the *Vedas* and *Angas* (*vedangavidyavisaradah*). He was also a valorous king. It is stated in the next verse that Mayuravarmma was installed as a king by the *tridasasenani* i.e. Kumarasvami or Shanmukha. This is identical with the statement made in the Talagunda inscription that he was anointed by Shadanana, after having meditated on Senapati, together with the Mothers.

Mayuravarmma's son was Kangavarmma. In this record his name is spelt as Kungavarmma. Kangavarmma's son was Bhagiratha and the latter's younger brother was Kakutstha. Kakutstha's son and grandson were Santivarmma and Mrigesavarmma respectively. Ravi was the son of Mrigesa, born to the daughter of the Kekaya king. Ravivarma is stated to have killed, while he was still young, a king called Vishnudasa and become the overlord of 18 *mandalikas*. The later part of this verse in line 8 refers to his sending to the heavenly abode a *balaraja*, 'young king'. It is not known if this also is a reference to Vishnudasa, the king referred to already in the earlier part.

Ravivarma is described as an expert in wielding arms (*astra-sastra-tomara-apastra-kunta*) and efficient in riding horses as also elephants. His subordinate chiefs (*samanta*) were obedient to him and he had been rid of all enemies. He had enough of knowledge in the *Nitisastra* of Vishnugupta and perhaps also in the works of Subandhu. The record is damaged at this place. The Ganga,

Punnata, Kongala, Pandya and Alupa are mentioned, obviously as his subordinates. They are stated to have followed his instructions in acquiring land and money, income from *danda*. There was no fear in his kingdom and the subjects, engaged in their pursuits according to their *dharma*, enjoyed happiness like children on the laps of their parents.

Such a king built a beautiful abode for Manmatha. Incidentally, the words used here, viz. this (*idam*) abode (*vesma*), would suggest that the pillar on which this record is engraved was originally set up in front of (?) the temple of Manmatha.

Thereafter, from line 13 onwards, the record defines the boundaries the temple. To the right of the temple was the palace of the king, while to the left were two dancing halls (*nrityasala*), in front of the female apartments (*antahpura*).

Festivals, pleasing to the eye, were to be celebrated in this temple during the Spring season (*Madhu*). But it is interesting that great laxity was shown in this regard. It was laid down that if it were not possible to celebrate this festival in Spring, it could be at any other convenient period when one could so celebrate (line 15). There is no compulsion (*nirbandha*) that the king must perform it, for all such acts (*karyah*) are for seeking pleasure.

The record thereafter (from line 17 onwards) gives an account of the grants made for the worship and maintenance of the *Kama-jinalaya*, by the king *Maharaja* Ravivarma. A big tank, named Guddatataka, was excavated to the south of the boundaries of the Idiyur, Kantararyyapati, Kallangodu and Meguru villages and all land that came under cultivation below this tank was made over to the temple. Further, several lands in different villages were also gifted. Land described as *Vatsakakota*, situated in Mahavenguli village; land called *Olukkihalam* in Kallangodu; *brahmachari-kshetra* in Idiyur; the village called Dhrakavenguli; land cultivated by the river Esala, on the other side i.e. the opposite bank, besides houses in the area and land below the tank; land called *Edekade* along with the flower and fruit trees, cultivated by the big tank; as much land as was required (to build) steps to the river on the other side and the highway (*mahapathah*) to its right; lands in the village Sattur, along with the jackfruit trees (*sa-panasa-kshetram*); land to the east of the tank called Ambilakundi; cultivated and uncultivated land in *pukkoli-kshetra* with Kammakur as the boundary to the east and south and the Esala river to the north. All these were granted to the temple, along with copper plates (where-upon these grants were recorded) through the hands of the Brahmanas.

That portion of the record engraved on the central faces of the octagonal part of the pillar is badly damaged. It refers to a gift

of the village (?) Mukundi made to the Kamadevalaya at Hakinipalli and the temple of goddess Padmavati (*Padmavaty-alaya*) at Kallili.

The original draft of the record seems to have contained some imprecatory verses. But the record on the stone appears to stop abruptly in the 27th line. The reason for this is not known.

Of the several villages mentioned herein some can be identified near about Gudnapura. At the very entrance of this village is a big tank, in fact one of the biggest tanks in the district and this is obviously the Gudda-tataka got excavated by the king. The village name Gudnapura appears to have derived from this. Idiyur, Kallangodu, Mahavenguli, Dhrakavenguli and Esala may be identified with the present Idur, Kallagodu, Dodda Bengali, Chikka Bengali and Esale respectively. Esale is a small village near Sirsi and a small rivulet of that name was once flowing that way. The tank Ambilakundi may be the same as the present Amblihonda, while Kammakur may be the same as Kamarur. It has not been possible for me to identify the other places.[3]

The record does not contain any date. On palaeographical grounds it can be placed in the early 6th century. Ravivarma's reign perid was c. 485-519 A.D.

This record is important in several respects. The most important is the fact that this record throws new light on the ancestors of Mayuravarma by giving the names of his father and grandfather respectively as Bandhushena and Virasarma. It confirms the statement in the Talagunda inscription that the founder of the Kadamba family of rulers was a Brahmana well-versed in Vedic lore. Virasarma's son Bandhushena had, however, adopted heroic characters befitting a *kshatriya*. Mayuravarma was the son of Bandhushena. Translating the verse occurring in the Talagunda inscription (line 4) it has been stated that Mayurasarmma, together with his guru Virasarma, went to Kanchi etc. The relevant portion of the Text reads :

यः प्रयाय पल्लवेंद्रपुरीम् गुरुणा समम् वीरशर्मणा

In the light of the statement made in the present record that Mayuravarma was the grandson of Virasarma who was himself well-versed in Vedic learning and was a *dvijottama,* it is quite probable that he assumed the position of a *guru* to his grandson and that both of them went to Kanchi.

Our record clearly states that the family came to be called Kadamba even during the period of Virasarma. But there is nothing to indicate that it was a family with political bearings. On the other hand, it states that it was only Bandhushena who reared up

[3] I am thankful to Principal L. T. Sharma, Sirsi, for suggesting some of these identifications.

the characters of a *kshatriya* in himself; and it is possible that he sowed the seeds of this ruling dynasty. We may perhaps presume that when Bandhushena was, even during his father's lifetime, trying to establish his position as a ruler of some sort, his son was taken to Kanchi by his grandfather Virasarma who was a *dvijottama* and *vedakulamatih*. Mayuravarma is not only described as *Vedanga-vidya-visaradah* but also as *Vikramaika-rasah* and as having become a king. It may be noted that he is not referred to in the record as Mayurasarma, but only as Mayuravarma.

Incidentally, the Halsi copper plate record of Ravivarma,[4] registering grants to the Jina temple, refers to a Bandhushena. The verse in question reads thus :

आचार्यैर्ब्बन्धुषेणाह्वैः निमित्तज्ञानपारगैः ।
स्थापितो भुवि यद्वंशः श्रीकीर्तिकुलवृद्धये ॥

Translating this Dr. Fleet said that it was the family of Jayakirtti, the donee, that "had been established in the world by the *Acharyas* called Bandhushena who were versed in the knowledge of omens, who had acquired fortune through his favour . . . .' Of course, Fleet appears to have been himself doubtful about this rendering as he suspected that 'objections may be taken here and there' for the rendering.[5]

It would now appear that this verse is with reference to the ancestors not of Jayakirtti, but of Ravivarma himself. Obviously here is an earlier reference to Bandhushena who is described as the founder of the Kadamba dynasty. It would be clear that Bandhushena laid the foundation on which the edifice was built by Mayuravarma. Before doing so, the son equipped himself with greater knowledge by going to Kanchi with his grandfather.

That Ravivarmma's mother belonged to the Kekaya family and that he killed Vishnuvarma and other kings is well known from the Talagunda inscription of his father Mrigesavarma[6] and his own Halsi copper plate record.[7] The present epigraph gives the name of the king whom he killed as Vishnudasa and adds that he became the overlord of 18 *mandalikas*. Vishnudasa might be the same as Vishnuvarma. But the identity of the king is still not clear.

Among his subordinate chiefs are mentioned the Ganga, Punnata, Kongala, Pandya and Alupa chiefs. It is interesting to note that herein we have the earliest reference to the Alupas, who had been mentioned for the first time in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesi II wherein they are stated to have been subdued by

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 25-27.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 27 Foot Note.
[6] *M.A.R.*, 1910-11, p. 35.
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 29.

Kirtivarma I. Since Ravivarma's reign period is fixed as 485 to 519 A.D.[8] and Kirtivarma's reign period was between 566-596 A.D., the reference to the Alupas becomes all the more interesting. Obviously, even in the last quarter of the 5th century and the first decade of the 6th century, we find an Alupa ruling as a subordinate of Ravivarma, although no details about him are forthcoming. Of course, it should be borne in mind that there appears to be a reference to an Alapa in the Halmidi inscription,[9] but neither its interpretation nor its date is as yet convincingly settled. Sircar assigns the record to the end of the 6th century[10].

But, certainly the earliest reference to Kongala (कोङ्गाळ) is to be found in this record. This may be the same as Kongalvas whose earliest known record is of 1004 A.D.[11] But our record pushes back the earliest reference to this family almost by five centuries.

We now come to the temple of Manmatha which Ravi-Maharaja got constructed. This is described also as Kama-Jinalaya. We know that the Kadamba kings gave patronage to Jainism and built Jaina temples. But it is interesting to see that a temple was built for the god Manmatha or Kama. In the Jaina pantheon, Manmatha is not worshipped as a deity, much less a temple built for him. If the temple, called as it has been as Kama-Jinalaya, had been built by an unknown person it could have been perhaps interpreted as being the temple of Jina, named after that person called Kama. But our inscription is quire clear in this matter. It was caused to be built by Ravi-Maharaja and it was for Manmatha, who is further described as *chittajanman* and *jagatah sthiti-samkshay-otpattikarin.*

A suggestion can be made. The temple of Manmatha was nothing but a temple for Bahubali. The earliest hitherto known such temple is the famous one at Sravanabelagola. That was in the 10th century. If our surmise is accepted, then the earliest known temple for Bahubali would be of the early 6th century, if not earlier.

The question, however, is how to say that Manmatha is Bahubali himself. This could be easily answered. Long ago, the late Sri Govinda Pai suggested that the word 'Gommata' is the *tadbhava* form of the Sanskrit word 'Manmatha',[12] and in support of his statement he cited the works of Jinasenacharya's '*Adipurana*', Pampa's '*Adipurana*' and also Chamundaraya's '*Chavundarayapurana.*'

The relevant passages therein may be quoted here. In Jinasenacharya's *Purvapurana* (*Adipurana*, xvi, 9) Bahubali is described as

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[8] *A History of Karnataka*, pp. 76 ff.

[9] *M.A.R.*, 1936, pp. 72-8.

[10] *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 48.

[11] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. I (Revised), 1972, Introduction, p. XIII.

[12] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

तत्काले कामदेवोभूद्युवा बाहुबली बली।
रूपसंपदमुत्तुंगाम् दधानो सुमताम् मताम् ।।

Further, in XVI, 25

मनोभवो मनोजश्च मनोभूर्मन्मथोंगजः।
मदनोनन्यजश्चेति व्याजहुस्तं तदांगनाः ।।

In Pampa's *Adipurana* (viii, verse 53) also it is stated that Bahubali was known by several names, all of them associated with Manmatha—

ಕನಸಿನೊಳಮಾ ಕುಮಾರನೆ
ಮನದೊಳ್ ತಣ್ಮಲೆಯೆ ಚಿತ್ತಜಂ ಚಿತ್ತಭವಂ
ಮನಸಿಜನನಂಗನಂಗಜ
ನೆನೆ ನೆಗಳ್ದುವು ಬಾಹುಬಲಿಗೆ ಪಲವುಂ ಪೆಸರ್ಗಳ್ ॥

In *Chavundarayapurana* it is said that Sunanda gave birth to Bahubalikumara who was in those days called Kamadeva (ಸುನಂದೆಗಾ ಕಾಲದ ಕಾಮದೇವಂ ಬಾಹುಬಲಿ ಕುಮಾರನೆಂಬೋನಾದೋನ್).

While we are not interested in the controversy about the word Gommata being a *tadbhava* of Manmatha, that Bahubali was known as Manmatha or Kamadeva is clear indeed. Hence it is sufficient for our purpose to cite these literary evidences to show that the temple built by the king Ravi was for Manmatha i.e. Bahubali. This gives us evidence to show that the worship of Bahubali can be predated to the 6th century.[13]

Obviously an image of Bahubali (Manmatha) was also installed within the temple. My friend A. Sundara has published the photographs of the sculptures we noticed at Gudnapura and has suggested that the male figure must be that of Manmatha and the female figure that of Rati.[14] But I am not in a position to express any opinion on this since no sculptures of this period have been noticed hitherto and the sculptures shown in the picture seem to belong to a rather later period.

Our record throws interesting light on some other aspects also. Defining the boundaries of the temple it, in very unambiguous terms, states that the royal palace was situated to the right of the temple while there were two dancing halls in front of the *antahpura* to the left. This would indicate that at least during his reign-period the royal palace was situated at Gudnapura which was quite obviously a part of the capital city, Banavasi. The tank at Gudnapura came into existence only in his period. The female apartments also might have occupied a vast area since there were

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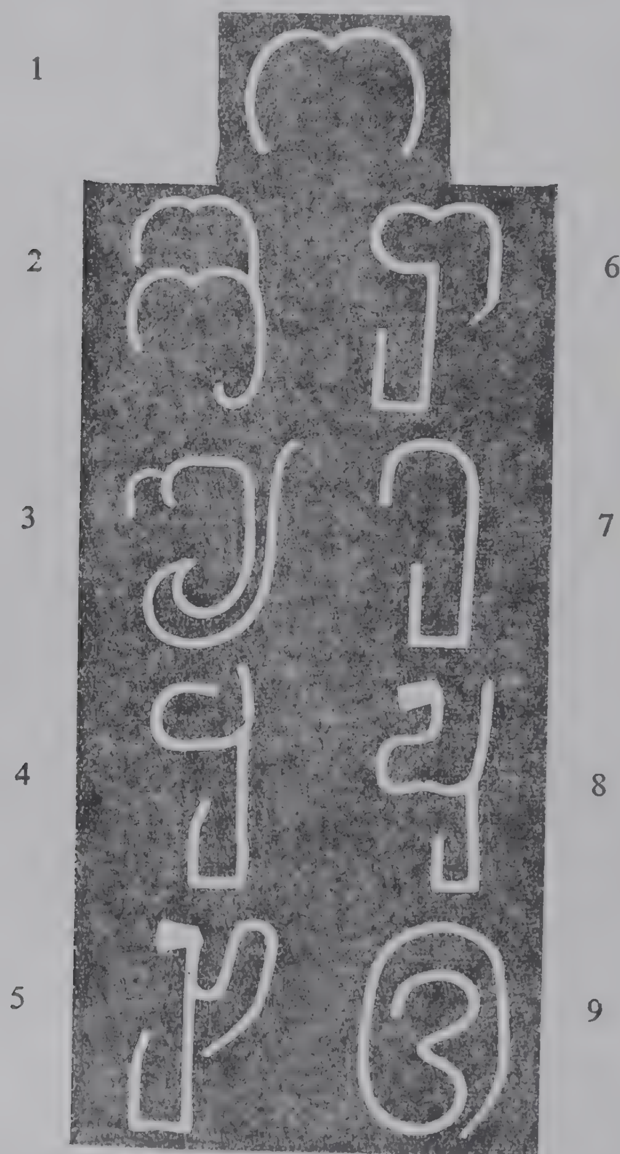
13 I am thankful to Dr. A. N. Upadhye who drew my attention to some of these references.

14 *Karnataka Bharati*, Vol. IV, pt. II, p. 90 f., pictures 2 A, B and C.

two dancing halls in its front. A more systematic survey and excavation of the mound near the inscribed pillar may possibly throw more light in this regard.

In line 26 there is a reference to the Kamadevalaya of Hakinipalli and a temple of Padmavati at Kallili. The reference to the Padmavati temple is also interesting. This is again the earliest reference to the Jaina goddess of that name.

One more interesting point in this record is the use of numerals. Numerals 1 to 9 have been used in this record, number 1 figuring in line 18; 2, 3, 4 and 5 in 19; 6 in 20; 7 and 8 in 21 and 9 in line 22. These have been shown below. Probably this is the only record of this period wherein the first nine numbers are found engraved. For a student interested in the antiquity and history of numerals in India, this is of utmost importance.



Numerals

TEXT[15]

1 जयति सुर वधूनां मन्मथः कामिनीनां........ ...
राज्यो.........म्य उया कि. श्यामवा...[16]

2 अथ बभूव हारितीपुत्रो मानव्यगोत्रोद्भवो द्विजः.
वीरशर्म्मेति वेदकुलपतिः.........मास. वेश्माकरोत्तद्विजोत्तमः
कुलमभूत्कदम्ब नाम्ना ततस्तस्यार्क्कबिम्बद्युती क्षितौ ।।

3 योऽथ वीरशर्म्मणो ज्येष्ठः श्री बन्धुषेणः प्रियात्मजः
स हि बभूव क्षत्रवृत्तिलतामूलगुणाम्बुप्रसेचि[तः]
तत्सुतो मयूरवर्म्मेति वेदाङ्गविद्या विशारदः
नृपतिरास विक्रमैकरसः शुभलक्षणलक्ष्यविग्रहः ।।

4 योऽभिषिक्तस्त्रिदशरोनान्या राज्या...कबन्धुना
भ्रमरकान्तावृन्दसङ्गीत विकसन्नवाम्भोज...
भुजगराजभोगदीर्घभुजः सुहृदात्तभोगो भुवः पतिः
तत्तनूजः कु(क)ङ्गवर्म्मा स राज्याङ्गभङ्गस्सदा द्विषाम् ।।

5 तत्सुतो भगीरथो नाम नियतं...रथः नृपतिरासी-
त्सत्यत शौर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यविद्याकलान्वितः श्रीमतो
भगीरथस्य सुतो रघुरास राजापराजितः रिपुगणैस्सम्पराय
मुखे रघुसत्वविक्रान्तिधीगुणैः ।।

6 तत्कनिष्ठश्श्री कदम्बकुल.........नरपतिः
काकुस्थ इत्यास काकुस्थवत्सत्वधीगुणैः तस्य सूनु-
श्शान्तिवर्म्मेति नाम्ना प्रजाशाना(न्त)येऽभवन् क्षितिपति-
र्भूवधूतिलको भूमीश्वरेभ्यो गुणाधिकः ।।

7 तत्सुतो मृगेशनामा.........मृगपति प्रभाव
सत्ववपुर्मृगनाथलीला विशाम्पतिः समभवन्मृगेश
शावनिभो जगतीपतेस्तस्य धीमतः रविरिति स्वनाम-
तुल्यवपुः कैकेयपुत्र्यां सुतोऽनघः ।।

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15 I am thankful to my colleague Dr. S. H. Ritti for helping me in reading this epigraph.

16 As stated above, the record is engraved on all the four faces, continuation being from one face to the other.

8 यो निहत्य विष्णुदासनृप.........प्राप राज्य-
म्बाल्य एवाष्टादशमण्डलीमण्डितम्प्रभुः स्वात्मसत्व-
व्योमसम्भूतलक्ष्मीन्दुलेखानवाम्बुदम् बालराजं संयुगे
सबलम् यो नीतवान्मृत्युवश्यताम् ॥

9 विनयसम्पदा श्रुतेन स[दा].........प्रणतनष्ट
भीतसामन्ता ववृधे च लक्ष्मीस्तथा तथा ॥ अस्त्रशक्ति
तोमरापास्त्रकुन्तेषु निष्ठाम्परागतः तुरगविद्यारूढरूढ-
मतिर्ब्राह्मश्च यो न द्विपेष्वपि ॥

10 या च नीतिर्व्विष्णुगुप्तकृता [सु]ब[न्धु].........
अधिजगाम यस्तयोर्न्निष्ठाम् लोकद्वयोद्भूति भाविनीम् ॥
उपनताहि गङ्गपुन्नाटकोङ्गाळ्पाण्ड्य लुपादयः
यस्य चाज्ञाम्बिभ्रति शीर्ष्णा भूम्यात्म दण्डार्थं सञ्चयैः ॥

11 यस्य चापि मरुतोद्धूत चतुरर्ण्णवार्ण्ण[वो भु]वि
तत्र तत्र सर्प्पता शुचिना यशसा दिशोवर्त्तनी कृताः ॥
ध्वसिते तयोस्तभीतिरसा यस्मिन्स्वधर्म्मे व्यवस्थिताः
सुखमवापुर्द्दानभोगरताः पित्रोरिवाङ्कस्थिताः प्रजाः ॥

12 संस्पृशन्ति भूवधूपतयो नाद्यापि लक्ष्मीलतातरोः शौर्य्य-
रत्न[ज्यो]तिना यस्य गुणभूषणानां कलामपि ॥ यस्य पुण्य-
निम्नगा बन्धो दुर्ग्गञ्च यस्योरुपर्व्वतम् तेन वेश्म
मन्म-थस्येदम् रविणा क्षितीन्द्रेण कारितम् ॥

13 दक्षिणेऽस्य राजवासगृहम् [वा]मे तथान्तः पुरोल्लस[त्]
नृत्तशाले द्वे पुनस्सौम्ये प्राग्भागमाश्रित्य विष्ठिते कुसुम-
गन्धवाहिभिश्शिशिरैर्धृतिहारिभिर्द्दक्षिणानिलैः यत्र
षट्पदावळी धूमः सन्धुक्ष्यते मन्मथानलः ॥

14 अपि च फुल्लरेणु धूसरितो रतिविग्रहच्छेव [द]क्षिणः
यत्र कामयुद्धसन्नाहपटहः कळरौति कोकिलः॥ तत्र चित्त-
जन्मनो जगतः स्थितिसंक्षयोत्पत्तिकारिणः स्थापितो मधौ
मधौ लोकनयनारविन्दोत्सवो महः ॥

15 यदि न युज्यते महस्तु मधौ कुर्य्यान्नृपो माधवेऽथवा
सम्भवेद्यदा तदा कार्य्यः कालावधिश्श्रेयसावधः ॥
भगवतो मदनस्य निर्य्याणे कार्य्यानुयात्रा महीक्षिता
यदि न वेष्यते न निर्ब्बन्धः सर्व्वास्सुखार्त्थाो यतः क्रियाः ॥

16 अनेन नयनाभिराममपदिश्य [चेतो वा]...गृहरुचिर वस्तु
भूपति सुखैषिणा कारितम् ॥ इतः प्रभृति रक्षणेऽस्य
सुखकीर्त्तिधर्म्मेप्सवः प्रमाणमवनीश्वरास्समयधर्म्म
रक्षापराः ॥

17 अथास्य कामजिनालयस्य [पूजा] संस्कारार्थमसौ
महाराज श्री रविवर्म्मा इडिऊरग्रामं कान्तारार्थ्येव [टी]
कल्लङ्गोडग्राममोगूरु ग्राम सीम्नि दक्षिणे गुड्डु तटाकं
बन्धयित्वा तस्य तटाकस्योदकेन यावन्निष्पद्यते ताव-

18 दभिनवक्षेत्रञ्च दत्वा पुनरिमानि ब्रह्मचारिक्षेत्राणि महा-
वेङ्गुलिग्रामे वत्सककोटन्नाम क्षेत्रन्तस्मिन्राजमानेन
द्वादशनिवर्त्तन पुराणक्षेत्रन्तस्योत्तरतस्थलञ्च चतुर्व्विंशति
निवर्त्तनम् ॥ १ ॥ कल्लङ्गोडग्रामसीम्न्येव ओलुक्कीहलञ्च

19 कोद्रववापक्षेत्रपर्य्यन्तम् ॥ २ ॥ इडिऊर ग्रामस्यापि सीम्नि
ब्रह्मचारि क्षेत्रमेकम् ॥ ३ ॥ दहक वेङ्गुलिग्रामश्च ॥ ४ ॥ एस...
पगापरतीर प्रवाहनिष्पद्यमानक्षेत्रवेश्मस्थानञ्च तटाकाध
श्चतुर्निवर्तनमात्रम् ॥ ५ ॥ नवनद्यपरतीरे

20 यावत्सोपानैकोद्देशस्तावत्सीमा चास्योत्तरतो महापथः
बृहत्तटाक केतकीप्रस्रवण पद्मतटाकोदक निष्पद्यमानक-
न्तत्समीपजातैः पुष्पफलोपभोगैस्तरुभिस्सह एडकडे
संज्ञकञ्च क्षेत्रम् ॥ ६ ॥ सत्तुरग्रामे च क्षेत्रम्

21 राजमानेन पञ्चनिवर्त्तनं पुव्वासिक खण्डेन भक्तप्रस्थेन च
सह ॥ ७ ॥ तस्मिन्नेव ग्रामे अन्यच्च पणिवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रम्
समान्यं सपनसवृक्षञ्च ॥ ८ ॥ अम्बिलकुण्डितटाकस्य
पश्चिमदिशा श्रुङ्गात्प्रभृति दशनिवर्त्तनं पुरातनक्षेत्रम् ॥

22 अतः परञ्च पुक्कोलिक्षेत्रं कृताकृतन्तस्य क्षेत्रस्य परिमाणम्
पूर्व्वाशा दक्षिणाशा[यां कम्म]क्रूरसीमासंस्था उत्तराशायां
एस...नदी संस्था ॥ ९ ॥ एवमेतनि नवब्रह्मचारिदेय
क्षेत्राणि सताम्रशासनानि ब्राह्मा(ह्म)ण्य (ण)हस्तेभ्यः क्रीत्वा दत्तवान् ॥

23 वनवासकान् चातुर्व्विद्या......तान् च परीक्ष्य स्त. स्य च कृतान्मौल्यात
बह्वधिक[17]

[17] Lines 23 to 27 are engraved on the octogonal part of the pillar, in the same way as the other lines have been engraved.

24 मौल्यं दत्वा ब्रह्मचारिभ्य...अथ च राजदुष्टं कूट. सन कर्तृन्
चातुर्व्विद्य [स] म

25 .मदाय इदमशोभन...[स्थै]श्च परीक्ष्य तेषांसर्व्वस्वह[र]......

26 हाकि[नि]पल्लि कामदेवालयस्य पूजासंस्कारार्त्थं
कल्ली[लि] ग्रामम्पद्मावत्यालयस्य पूजासंस्कारार्त्थम्मुकूण्ड्य-

27 न्वयाय सर्व्वनमस्यन्दत्तवान्...लोकपिशाचः नित्यविस्तीर्ण्णतुष्ट[18]

[18] The record seems to stop here, rather abruptly.

Date of Five Kannada Inscriptions at Kapalle

M. S. KRISHNAMURTHY

THE five inscriptions[1] studied here are noticed in the *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34. They were found in a village named Kapalle in the Punganur Taluk of Chittoor District. These *viragal* inscriptions are not dated and, on the basis of their palaeography, have been ascribed to 9th century A.D. The summary of these inscriptions is as given below:

No. 164: Records a gift of land made in memory of Ponnappudali Manikkamenti who died fighting in course of a cattle raid on Chemmaguru by one Maharaja when Mahabali Banavidyadhara Jayamerubhupa was ruling Vadugavali—12000 and Ganga—6000 provinces.

No. 166: Records the death of Kala Velpula Bikkiyanna and his son (name not clear) along with Masarayya.

No. 167: States that this is the representation of Marammarasa who died with Masarasa.[2]

No. 168: On the occasion of an attack of the village by Maharaja a certain Masara[yya] son of Lokeyarasa of Chemmaguru, fell on him with twenty (companions) and died in the fight. The stone mason Vikramaditya Bahugunateja of Koyatur made the sculpture.

No. 170: When Rashtrakuta Kannaradeva was ruling, Maharaja attacked Masarasa, son of Lokeyarasa of Chemmaguru. Tigati Muttarasa, the servant of Masarasa fought on his master's behalf and lost his life. As a *kodage* to his memory land was given under the tank at Budali. His grandson Madamuttarasa son of Keta Muttarasa endowed this *kalnadu.*

It is clear that these inscriptions refer to a single incident of cattle lifting by a certain Maharaja at Chemmaguru, when Mahabali

I am highly indebted to the late Dr. M. Seshadri, M.A., Ph.D (Lond.), Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, for his valuable guidance in the preparation of this paper.

1 Nos. 164, 166–68 and 170 of 1933–34.

2 Above the inscription there is a panel with a seated figure flanked by a female attendant on either side. Below the inscription is the figure of a hero holding a bow in his left hand and an uplifted dagger in the right.

Banavidyadhara Jayamerubhupa was ruling over Vadugavali—12000 and Ganga—6000 provinces and Rashtrakuta Kannaradeva was ruling the country. In the battle that ensued heroes named Ponnappudali Manikkamenti, Kala Velpula Bikkiyanna, Masarayya, Marammarasa and Tigati Muttarasa fought on their master's behalf and died.

Mahalingam has ascribed these inscriptions to the end of the reign of Rashtrakuta Krishna II on the basis of the two achievements made by Indra III mentioned in the Rashtrakuta inscriptions,[3] viz., the victory over '*meru*' and success against '*Upendra*' who had captured 'Govardhana.' Here Mahalingam disagrees with the views of Kielhorn of who had suggested that '*meru*' may stand for Kanauj and of Bhagavanlal Indraji[5] who identified '*meru*' with the '*mera*' or '*mehra*' king of North Kathewad who was defeated by Indraraja III. On the other hand, he has identified '*meru*' with the Bana king Vikramaditya I Jayameru who is the same as Bana Vidyadhara Jayamerubhupa mentioned above. The Rashtrakuta Kannaradeva of one of the records has been identified by him with Krishna II and the Maharaja who raided Chemmaguru with the Rashtrakuta prince Indra son of Krishna II. For, the defeat of '*meru*' according to the Rashtrakuta inscriptions mentioned above appears to have taken place even before his accession to the throne. Mahendradhiraja (Nolamba) who claims to have destroyed the race of Bali apparently did so not by himself but as a feudatory of the Rashtrakutas.

But the opinion of Mahalingam ascribing this group of Kannada inscriptions at Kapalle to the end of Krishna II's reign (c. 915 A.D.) and to the beginning of the reign of his son Indra III cannot be considered as tenable on the basis of what follows.

One of the above referred inscriptions from this place (No. 168), refers to a fight with a Maharaja while he attacked Chemmaguru. Masarayya fell on him with twenty companions and died while fighting. To commemorate him the stone-mason (sculptor) Vikramaditya Bahugunateja to Koyatur made a sculpture. This sculptor Vikramaditya Bahugunateja of Koyatur deserves special attention here. The mention of Vikramaditya as the sculptor of this *viragal* is very significant and helps to date all these five inscriptions, to the second quarter of the 10th century A.D. Vikramaditya Bahugunateja was an eminent sculptor of the time of Iriva Nolamba Dilipa (943-67 A.D.), an ally of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (940-68 A.D). He has been referred to as the sculptor in a number of *viragals* of Iriva Nolamba's reign-period in the Kolar District.[6] One of these inscriptions (Kl. 245) bears the date Saka 888 (966 A.D.).

[3] *JIH.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 178–9.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 36; VII, App. p. 16, n. 2.
[5] *Bomb. Gaz.* I, pt. I, p. 130.
[6] *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb. 108, 161–63; *Ibid.*, Kl. 245.

This Vikramaditya was the son of Bijayitachari of Koyatur.[7] The place from which this sculptor hails i.e., Koyatur, has been identified with Laddigam in the Punganur taluk of Chittoor District.[8]

This very person Vikramaditya of Koyatur is mentioned in a Kannada inscription at Etur, Punganur Taluk, Chittoor District.[9] This record refers to a chief named Vajjaradeva who was ruling over Pulinadu as a subordinate of Rashtrakuta Kannaradeva. It refers to the death of Prithvi Ramasetty, son of Kasara Nerilurar in a cattle raid at Mangala.[10] The engraver was Vikramaditya son of Bijayitachari of Koyatur. This cattle raid on Mangala in the reign of Vajjaradeva took place in the year Saka 886 i.e., 964 A.D.[11] One more date is available for this chief Vajjaradeva from an inscription at Sivadi in Punganur Taluk.[12] The inscription is dated in the 22nd regnal year of the Rashtrakuta king Kannaradeva 'who took Kachchi and Tanjai' and states that a certain Kurunagan died in a skirmish of the *gamundas* who fought on behalf of the village, while Vajjaradeva was governing Siyapadi, obviously the same as Sivadi in Pulinadu.

Rashtrakuta Kannaradeva of the above inscription is, doubtlessly, Rashtrakuta Krishna III who ruled during 940-68 A.D. He is known to have camped at Melpati at the end of his southern campaign, in the course of which he is said to have uprooted the Cholas and distributed their territory among his own followers.[13] It is probable that Vijjaradeva was conferred the viceroyalty of some parts of Pulinadu at this time. Hence, we see Vajjaradeva ruling as a subordinate of Krishna III, in the latter's 22nd regnal as seen in the Sivadi inscription.

However, during the last years of rule of Krishna III, this Vajjaradeva appears to have assumed an independent attitude as can be inferred from a few inscriptions of the same district.[14] By 964 A.D. he was in complete possession of the Pulinadu country. No. 176 which can be ascribed to 964 A.D.[15] states that Vajjaradeva was ruling the earth. It is probably due to such a mischievous behaviour of Vajjaradeva that he was killed by the Western Ganga ruler

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[7] *Ibid.*, Mb. 108.

[8] *AREp.*, 1907, p. 6I, para 38.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. 219 of 1931–32.

[10] Mangala was a division of 12 comprising probably the surrounding areas of Punganur Taluk (No. 183 of 1931–32). This appears to have been called also as Manandimangala (see 201 of 1931–32).

[11] No. 180 of 1931–32. The last digit of the date mentioned in the inscription is read doubtfully. But, it is evident that this event happened around 960 A.D. in the reign of Vajjaradeva since the first two digits are clear.

[12] No. 236 of 1931–32.

[13] The Karhad plates dated 959 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 249.

[14] Nos. 176–78, 180 and 182 of 1931–32.

Marasimha II. The Sravanabelagola epitaph of Marasimha II states that Marasimha II, at the command of Indra IV, crushed the unrivalled Vajjaradeva. From the *Chavundarayapurana* and the Sravanabelagola inscription[17] we learn that Chamundaraja, the minister of Marasimha II, fought with Vajvala, the younger brother of Patalamalla in the Khedaga battle. Fleet[18] has identified this Vajvala with Vajjala II of one of the Konkan branches of the Silahara family. But it is more reasonable to identify Vajvala, whose rebellion was quelled by Marasimha II, with Vajjaladeva or Vajjaradeva, the ruler of Pulinadu mentioned in the above referred inscriptions of Chittoor District.

From the evidences cited above it can be said doubtlessly that the group of Kannada inscriptions under discussion belongs to c. 960-65 A.D., since Vikramaditya Bahugunateja, the writer or the engraver of one of these inscriptions lived around 960 A.D. as a contemporary of the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III (940-68 A.D.) and his subordinates Iriva Nolamba Dilipa (c. 943-67 A.D.) and Vajjaradeva (962-64 A.D.). Therefore, the king Kannaradeva of the Rashtrakuta family mentioned in one of the Kapalle inscriptions is none other than Krishna III.

The Bana king Mahabali Banavidyadhara Jayamerubhupa mentioned in one of these inscriptions of Kapalle remains to be identified now.[19] He, in all probability, is the same person as the Bana king Vikramaditya III, who is said to be 'a dear friend of Krishnaraja' in the Udayendiram plates.[20]

It is known that the Banas were allies and subordinates of the Rashtrakutas for generations before Vikramaditya III. The Banas were ruling over the Ganga-6000 province under the Rashtrakutas in 810 A.D.[21] In fact, the Banas and the Vaidumbas assisted Krishna II when he invaded the Chola kingdom in the pretext of installing on the Chola throne his grandson i.e., son of his daughter married to Chola Aditya I. In the decisive battle that took place at Vallava the Rashtrakutas suffered a signal defeat at the hands of the Chola king Parantaka who was helped by his able Ganga subordinate Prithvipati II. Parantaka, after making his throne secure, punished the Banas and the Vaidumbas by acquiring their territory by force, gave the same to his loyal subordinate Prithvipati II and made him the lord of the Bana country by conferring the title 'Sembiyan

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15 Though the inscription has no date, the record refers to the cattle raid on Mangala to which No. 180, dated 964 A.D., also refers.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 151.

17 *Ep. Carn.*, II, Sb. 281.

18 Ref. in *AREp.*, 1931–32, p. 49, para 10.

19 No. 164 of 1933–34.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 77–79.

21 *MAR.*, 1913–14, pp. 35–37.

Mahabali Banarasa' on him.[22] Since then the Banas and the Vaidumbas had no other go but to take shelter permanently under the Rashtrakutas.

The Udayendiram plates of Prithvipati II and the Anbil plates of Sundarachola[23] state that Parantaka defeated two Bana chiefs. These two chiefs appear, in all probability, to be Vikramaditya II himself and his son Vijayaditya III, the latter of whom bears the title '*Pugalvippavaraganda*' i.e., "the disgracer of vainglorious kings' or 'disgracer of those who cause themselves to be praised unworthily.'[24] Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry opines that Parantaka must have crowned Hastimalla as the 'lord of the Banas' before 916 A.D. (Sholingur record) because it is known that the Bana king Vijayaditya Prabhumeru ruled the Bana country independently till 909 A.D. The conquest of the Banas must have taken place in the intervening period of 6 or 7 years. The great-grandson of Vijayaditya Prabhumeru is known from his Udayendiram grants to have been a friend of Krishna III. There were two Bana kings intervening—Vikramaditya II and Vijayaditya III Pugalvippavaraganda. Considering the fact that Krishna III could not have begun his reign much earlier than 940 A.D., it seems proper to infer that the two Bana rulers who were dispossessed of their kingdom and perhaps forced by Parantaka to seek refuge within the Rashtrakuta dominion were Vikramaditya II and Vijayaditya III. In the light of these incidents it was inevitable for Vikramaditya III, the great-grandson of Vijayaditya Prabhumeru to seek refuge and friendship under Krishna III.

Krishna III, as a revenge against his predecessor's defeat at the hands of Parantaka and also with the intention of extending his dominion in the south, led an expedition against the Chola country. The decisive battle took place at Takkolam, 6 miles to the south east of Arakonam in the North Arcot District, in 949 A.D. The Chola army was completely defeated by Krishna who occupied a large part of the Chola kingdom and went upto Ramesvaram where he installed a pillar of victory. Krishna III by his invasion in the South gained control over a large part of the Chola dominion which must have 'naturally resulted in the restoration of the Bana king Vikramaditya III Vijayabahu to his ancestral home which appears a fair justification and explanation for the Bana ruler calling himself a dear friend of Krishnaraja.'[26]

Hence, in all probability, Mahabali Banavidyadhara Jayameru-

[22] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 50.
[23] *SII.*, II, No. 76; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 50.
[24] *JIH.*, XXIX, p. 280.
[25] *The Colas*, II Edn. (Rev), 1955, p. 126.
[26] *JIH.*, XXIX, p. 283.

bhupa of the Kapalle inscription ruling Vadugavali—12000 and Ganga—6000 provinces, should be none other than the Bana king Vikramaditya III a 'dear friend of Krishnaraja.'[27]

The identification of Maharaja who made a cattle raid on Chemmaguru with any of the contemporary chiefs of that time is difficult since he is mentioned merely as Maharaja without any panegyric or at least the conventional titles of a king. The Vanamaladinne record[28] of Mahabali Banarasa ruling over Vadugavali 12000 and Ganga 6000, probably the same as the Bana king of the Kapalle inscription, mentions a certatin Vaidumba who made a cattle raid in which Amalan Kittan son of Tararam Dhammadamenti died. It is likely that the Maharaja of the Kapalle records is a Vaidumba chief, since the Vaidumbas used to have the suffix Maharaja to their family name Vaidumba.

Hence, on the basis of what is discussed above, the group of Kannada inscriptions written on *viragals* at Kapalle, Chittoor District, recording the cattle raid on Chemmaguru may be assigned to c. 960-65 A.D. i.e., to the end of the reign of Krishna III and not to the end of the reign of Krishna II (to c. 915 A.D.) or to the beginning of the reign of his son Indra III.

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[27] The inscription under discussion (No. 164), as already stated, records a gift of land in memory of Ponnapudali Manikkamenti who died while fighting in the cattle raid at Chemmaguru by one Maharaja. There are few more Bana inscriptions in Kannada in this district probably of this period. (No. 187, 196, 197 of 1931-32). The last two refer to some cattle raids in that region when Mahabali Banarasa was ruling over the same Vadugavali—12000 and Ganga—6000 provinces. This Bana king appears to be the same Bana chief as that of the Kapalle inscription since both of them were ruling over the same provinces at that period. The inscription i.e., No. 187 refers to the death of Mundan who saved the cows of Pudali Odeya at Palpadu during the king's hostilities against a certain Kannakkuri, while Vikramaditya Banarasa was ruling. Pudali Odeya for whom Mundan fought and died appears to have had some relation or he must be identical with Manikkamenti who also had the surname Ponna Pudali in the Kapalle inscription. If they are proved to be identical it may be said that Vikramaditya Banarasa of the Karupalle record (187 of 1931-32) and Mahabali Banavidyadhara Jayamerubhupa of the Kapalle record (164 of 1933-34) are identical personalities and the Bana king mentioned in the Kapalle inscriptions can be taken as Vikramaditya III.

[28] No. 197 of 1931-32.

11

Aprameya's Jayastambha Inscription at Kaliyur

M. HANUMANTHA RAO

B. L. RICE discovered an important inscription at Kaliyur in T. Narasipur taluk and published it in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Volume III as TN44. But it is not completely read and the reading is also not satisfactory and requires thorough revision. This is not without reason. When Rice discovered it, the inscribed slab had been built into the ceiling of the Gopalakrishna temple at the place. Evidently, he could neither get a clear estampage nor a correct reading although what he has read in the odd circumstances deserves appreciation. The slab has now been removed from the ceiling and placed by the side of the temple. It is slightly worn out all through the middle and is also damaged here and there. An attempt has been made here to give a fairly complete reading and to assess the importance of the record.

Kaliyur is on the right bank of the Kaveri just opposite to the town of Talkad. It is now a small village but marks a spot where a severe battle took place in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. The record furnishing the details of this battle is on a large granite slab measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ metres $\times$ 1 metre. About a third of the slab on the top is occupied by a battle scene in relief. Though mutilated here and there, the sculpture is full of life and gives a vivid picture of the war described in the record.

There are twenty-five lines of writing below the sculpture. The characters are Kannada of the late Ganga type, fairly well engraved. The language is Kannada. Except for the first four lines which are in prose the rest is in verse and the composition is of high order. But neither the composer nor the scribe is mentioned in it.

The record is unique in several ways. In the first place this is not a viragal as supposed by Rice. He states that 'Aprameya (the Chola General) distinguished himself against certain Poysala leaders and was perhaps killed in a battle at Kalavur'.[1] Following him Dr. Derrett, Prof. Coelho and others have expressrd almost the same opinion. Dr. Derrett states 'It seems that Aprameya died in this battle or soon afterwards'.[2] Rice probably thought that the

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 9.
[2] *The Hoysalas*, p. 18.

record which contained the sculpture of a battle scene and several verses in praise of Aprameya's valour must be an elegy to him. But there is no indication in the inscription even as read by Rice about the death of Aprameya.

The record is, on the other hand, a *jayastambha* (victory pillar) set up by Aprameya to commemorate the great victory he achieved in the battle of Kalavur. It opens with the details of the date[1] and, after a string of the titles of Aprameya, mentions that it was his *jayastambha*. Then it proceeds to give in several stanzas a graphic description as to how Aprameya attacked a host of his enemies, killed many and drove several out. Aprameya was a general and a *mahamatya* under the Chola king Rajaraja I. He belonged to Tellakula and ruled over Kottamangala. He claims to be a terror to the Malepakula (hill chiefs).

In the following two stanzas, the record gives a list of chiefs whom Aprameya claims to have killed in the battle or driven out :

೧. ಮಲೆಪರಮಲ್ಲ ಚೊತ್ತರಳಿಗೋಯಿಗ ಬೂತುಗ ಸೇನವಾರ ಪೊ
ಯ್ಸಳ ಬೆಳ್ಗುಪ್ಪನೀ ಜೊಱಿಗ ಸಂಚಿಗ ಕಕ್ಕಗ ಸಿನ್ನಿವರ ಮಾ।
ಗಲ ಯೆಱೆಗಂಗ ಮದ್ದರ್ಸ ಬರಮಣ್ಣನುಂ ಮೊದಲಾಗೆ ಕೊತ್ತಮಂ
ಗೆಯಾಣ್ಮನಿಗೋಡಿ ಸತ್ತವರ ಲೆಖ್ಖಮನಾರಱಿವರ್ದ್ಧರಿತ್ರಿಯೊಳು ॥

೨. ಗಣ್ಡರಗಣ್ಡ ಮುಣ್ಡಜಗಕಾರಿಗ ಬೀರುಗ ನಾಗವರ್ಮ್ಮ ಮಾ
ಗುಣ್ಡರಕಿಲ್ಲ ಮುತ್ತರ ನೊೞಂಬರಚನ್ದಿಗ ಪೊನ್ನ ನನ್ನಿಗಂ।
ಮುಣ್ಡಿರವರ್ಮ್ಮರಾಜ ನರಗಂ ಸಿರಿಗಂ ಕಲವೂರ ಮಾಳದೊ
ಳ್ಪೆಣ್ಡಿರ ನಿಕ್ಕಿಯೋಡಿದರವರ್ಕುಲ ಮಾಣಿಕ ಕಾಜಿ ರಂಗದೊಳ್ ॥

Though it may not be possible to identify all of them or locate them in a particular area, from the few names occurring in the above stanzas it is possible to identify them with particular dynasties to which they might have belonged. The names of a few dynasties like Poysala, Senavara, Nolamba etc., have also been mentioned. It is therefore clear that the battle was not fought between the Poysala and Aprameya as supposed by Rice and others. A confederacy of chiefs put in a joint effort in attacking the Chola army headed by Aprameya and Poysala was one among them.

What were the circumstances that led to this battle? We have to notice in brief the political condition which existed in Gangavadi during the 10th century A.D. when Karnataka witnessed a great change in the political field. There were fratricidal wars in the Ganga family. Butuga killed his own brother Rachamalla and came to the throne. He was aided by the Rashtrakutas in this attempt and Gangavadi became subordinate to the Rashtrakuta

1 The details of date given in the record viz., Saka 929, Parabhava, Chaitra ba. 5, Sunday are irregular. If, however, the Saka year is treated as current and the weekday is taken as Friday (and not Sunday), the other details would correspond to 1006 A.D., March 22.

empire. Butuga participated in a war between the Rashtrakutas and the Cholas and killed Rajaditya, the Chola king. But soon the Rashtrakutas were replaced by the Chalukyas which left the Gangas in a helpless position. Internal conflicts had also increased in Gangavadi. Chavundaraya the minister of Rachamalla IV claims to have killed several persons some of whom were, no doubt, the scions of the Gangas.

At the same time, the Cholas under Rajaraja I had become the most powerful. They extended their territories on all sides. By the close of the 10th century, Rajaraja had invaded Rattapadi and Gangavadi and by 1004 A.D., the Chola army under Rajendra Chola succeeded in capturing Talakad, the Ganga capital. The Ganga power was thus brought to an end. A major portion of the Gangavadi to the east and south was occupied by the Cholas. These were made into provinces which were named after the Chola kings. The south of Gangavadi became Mudigonda-Cholamandala; similarly the eastern parts were renamed Vikrama-Cholamandala and Nikarili-Cholamandala. They were subdivided into *Valanads* and even the towns got new names—Talkad became Rajarajapura, Manalur got the name of Nikarili-Cholapura and so on. The local chiefs and the Ganga subordinates had no place there. Governors of these *mandalas* were appointed from among the Chola generals.

Added to that 'the army of the Chola king numbered 9,00,000 men, who pillaged the whole country, slaughtered even women, children and Brahmans, taking their girls to wife destroyed their caste'[3] which was unprecedented. Though the Chalukya emperor Irivabedanga Satyasraya claims a victory over the Cholas, he might have only put a check over their further progress towards Kuntala.

All such acts on the part of the Chola must have annoyed the local chiefs who occupied parts of Gangavadi not subdued by the Chola. They feared that their very existence would be at stake if the Chola were to be allowed to continue his attacks. But the main Ganga line had disappeared and these chiefs were not in a position to expect assistance from the imperial Chalukya who was himself engaged in consolidating his own newly acquired territories. Therefore all the petty chiefs belonging to various dynasties ruling in the southern parts of Karnataka joined hands and, without waiting for the Cholas to attack, desperately took the offensive step with all their forces. The record states that all the enemies (of Aprameya) joined together and attacked him simultaneously. They faced the Chola at the very gates of his newly acquired territory. But the result was disastrous. Aprameya proved too powerful and their

[3] Hottur Inscription of Satyasraya, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 74.

attempt became futile. Some of them were killed and many had to flee.

That many of the chiefs named in the record belonged to the well known dynasties there can be no doubt.[4] Among them the Poysala stands foremost. It is he alone who is mentioned several times in the record. He was a Bhima among the warriors (*gandara Bhima*) and a powerful one (*balayutan*). But no personal name of the Poysala is mentioned. Since the term Poysala occurs at least fifty years before the date of the present record, this Poysala cannot be Sala himself as some scholars suggest. Poysala was just making his appearance in the political field and appears to have shown his might in the battle. A name Naganna has been read by Rice as the minister of Poysala. But no such name occurs in the record nor is there any mention of a minister of the Poysala. Poysala who was still a budding chief could not have collected such a huge army, as described in the record, single handed.[5]

Among other names Butuga and Ereganga were Gangas but whether they belonged to the main line and took part in the battle after they were driven out from Gangavadi or belonged to one of the Ganga branches which ruled parts of Gangavadi unsubdued by the Cholas, cannot be determined. Goyiga and Kakkaga appear to be the scions of the Rashtrakuta family. A Senavara is mentioned in the record but it does not mention his name. There was a Senavara king ruling Banavase 12,000 under the Chalukyas during this period[6] who might have participated in this battle. One Chandiga from the Nolamba family is stated in the record to have been one of those who ran away from the battle field leaving their wives behind. This Nolambara Chandiga is not referred to elsewhere. Biruga might be a Santara chief who ruled Santalige. One Naraga, a Sabara leader, was ruling somewhere round about Asandi-nadu. He was killed by the Ganga king Marasimha in 972 A.D.[7] Naraga

[4] The statement made by Dr. Derrett that the names like Manjaga, Kaligaga, Biruga, Chandiga, etc., 'are all of an unpretentious kind being of primitive Kannada form showing none of the graces that power and wealth soon brought to the nomenclature even of persons of subordinate authority in the Hoysala empire', is not tenable. Names ending with *ga* may indicate either affection or contempt. There are names of well known kings and emperors ending with *ga* like Baddega, Gojjiga, Ariga, Bittiga, etc. In the present instance the names ending with *ga* are of the enemies of Aprameya and therefore are mentioned with contempt.

[5] *Anya sadhana* appearing in the record has been interpreted by Dr. Derrett as 'one who has acquired extraneous resources or one who has others as his instruments' as applied to Hoysala (*The Hoysalas*, p. 18). But *anya sadhana* merely means the hostile army and applies to the entire army that opposed Aprameya.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, St. 381.

[7] *Ibid.*, VI, Kd. 147.

of the present record must be of his line. Arakella is one other name which is found in a record as the grandfather of Poysala Maruga[8]. But one cannot be certain if he was the Arakilla mentioned here. Nanniga appears in different dynasties. There were a Nanni Nolamba, a Nanni Kadamba and a Nanni Ganga. There are some more names in the record like Barammana, Nagavarmma, Ponna, Arivarmmaraja, Siriga etc., whom it is difficult to identify.

The victory won by Aprameya firmly established the Cholas in the Gangavadi already subjugated and for more than a hundred years to come, no ruler of Karnataka could regain it. However, the fierce attack of the chiefs of Karnataka, though not successful in regaining the lost territories, must have put a halt to further aggressions of the Cholas.

TEXT

೧. ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಕನೃಪಕಾಳಾತೀತ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ ಸತಂಗ ೯೨೬ನೆಯ [ಪರಾ]ಭವ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ
ಚೈತ್ರಮಾಸದ ಬಹುಳ ಪಂಚಮಿಯು

೨. ಮಾದಿತ್ಯವಾರದಂದು ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತರಾಜ್ಯಭರನಿರೂಪಿತ ಮಹಾಮಾತ್ಯಪದವೀ ವಿರಾಜ
ಮಾನ ನಸಹಾಯಸಿಂಘ ತೆಲ್ಲ

೩. ಕುಳತಿಳಕ ಸ್ವಾಮಿನಿಭೃತ್ಯ ಸಜನವತ್ಸಲಂ ತ[ತ್]ಪತಿಪಿತಾಜರಣ ಮಲೆಪಕುಳಕಾಳ
ಶ್ರೀಮತು ರಾಜರಾಜದೇವ ಪಾದಪಂಕಜ

೪. ಭ್ರಮರ ಜಿತರಿಪುಸಮರ ಕುಲಮಾಣಿಕ್ಯ ಕೊತ್ತಮಂಡಲನಾಥ ಶ್ರೀಮದಪ್ರಮೇಯನ
ಜಯಸ್ತಂಭಂ

೫. ಶ್ರೀ ರಮಣಿಗ ಮಮ್ಮೃತವಚಶ್ರೀರಮಣಿಗ ಮತ್ಯೂರ್ಜ್ಜಿತ ವಿಗ್ರಹ ವಿಜಯಶ್ರೀರಮಣಿಗ
ಮಮಳಯಶಶ್ರೀರಮಣಿಗ ಮಪ್ರಮೇಯನೊರ್ವ್ವನೆ ಗಂಡಂ

೬. ಅಮೆನೆ ಸಂದ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳನಪೊರ್ವ್ವನೆ ಗಣ್ಡರ ಭೀಮ ನೊತ್ತುಮತ್ತಾಮೆನೆ ಚಳ್ಗುಪನದೊ
ರ್ವನೆಯಾಂ ವಿಜಯ ಪ್ರಮತ್ತ

೭. ನುಂ ತ್ತಾಮೆನೆ ಬಲ್ಲಿತಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಳೆಗಳ್ಬಲವಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ನೂಂಕಿಮೆಂದು ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮದಿನೊತ್ತಿ ಮತ್ತ
ಮಱಿದತ್ತುರಣಾಗ್ರದೊಳಪ್ರಮೇಯನಿಂ

೮. ಚಲದಿನರಾತಿವರ್ಗ್ಗಮೆನಿತುಂಟನಿತುಂನ್ನೆರದೆಲ್ಲ ಮೊನ್ನ್ಮೆ ಮಾರ್ನ್ಮಲೆದಿದಿರಾನ್ತು
ತಾಗಿದೊಡೆ ತನ್ನ ನಿಜಾಗ್ರಭುಜಾಸಿಯಿನ್ದ

೯. ಮಾ ಕಲಹದೊಳಟ್ಟಿ ತಳ್ತಿಱಿಯೆ ದಾಳಿಗೆ ಕೊತ್ತ್ರಕ್ರಿತಾನ್ತ ನತ್ತ್ರಯಿಂ ಬಲಿವಡೆ
ದನ್ತುಟಾಯ್ತಿಱಿದು ಗೆಲ್ದೊಡೆ ಯಿನ್ತಿದ ನಪ್ರಮೇಯನಂ

೧೦. ಮಿಂಚಿ ಪಳಂಚಿ ಸಂಚಳಿಸಿ ಪಾಱುವ ಬಾಳ್ದದಿ ಭೂತಪಾಕಿಣೀ ಸಂಚಿತ ವಾಜಿ
ವಾರಣ ಪರಾತಿ ಕಬನ್ಧ ನಿಬಂಧವ್ರಾತ ರೋಮಾಂಕಿತ

೧೧. ಸಾಧನಪ್ರಕರ ಹುಂಕರಣೋಗ್ರಮುದಗ್ರ ಮುಗ್ರ ಸಕ್ತಂಚರೀ ಸಂಜರಂ ಜಿತರಣಾಂಗಣ
ಮೀ ದೊರೆತಪ್ರಮೇಯನಾ

೧೨. ಅಣಮುರದುಕ್ಕ್ರ ಬಂಡಣಿಯ ನಾಯಕರಟ್ಟಿ ರಂಜಿಸೆ ನೂಂಕಿನೊಳ್ಸಿಣಮಯಮಾಯ್ತು ಶಿವಾಮ

೧೩. ಯಮಾಯ್ತು ಡಾಕಿಣೀಗಣಮಯಮಾಯ್ತು ಗೃಧ್ರಮಯಮಾಯ್ತು ಮರುಳ್ಮಯ
ಮಾಯ್ತು ವಾಯಸ ಕ್ಷಣಮಯಮಾಯ್ತು ತೊಟ್ಟನೆ ರಣೋ

೧೪. ನೇಮಿ ನೆಗಟ್ದಪ್ರಮೇಯನಾ ಪಕ್ಕರೆಯಿಕ್ಕದ ಸ್ವಚೆಯಂ ಕಾಳೆಗಳನ್ನೆಱೆ ಪಣ್ಣದಾತ್ಮ
ತತ್ವಕ್ಕಿರದೊತ್ತಿಮೆನ್ನದೆ ಜಯಾಸಿಗೆ ನೀಡದೆ ಕಯ್ಯ

೧೫. ನಾಜಿಯೊಳ್ಮಿಕ್ಕರಿಗಪ್ರಮೇಯನ ನಿಜೋನ್ನತನಾಮದೊಳೊಪ್ಪುತಿರ್ಪ್ಪ ನಾಲ್ಕಕ್ಕರಮಂ
ಪಟಂ ಬರೆದು ತೋಱಿದೊಡೋಡುಗುಮನ್ಯ ಸಾಧನಂ

8 *Ibid.*, Cm. 132.

೧೬. ಬಲಯುತನಪ್ಪ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳನ ಸಾಹಸ ರಂಗದೊಳಟ್ಟಿ ತನ್ನ ಬಾಳ್ಗೊಳೆ ಸಡೆಮುಂತೆ
ಮುಂಕೊಳೆ ಹಯಾವಳಿ ಬೆಂಕೊಳೆ ವೈರಿಸೇನೆ ತಾಱ್ಗೊಳೆ

೧೭. ಜಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿ ಕೈಕೊಳಲಿರ್ದ್ದರಂ ತವೆಕೊನ್ದು ಬೀರಮಾರ್ಗಳವಪಟಿಸ್ತಿರ್ದ್ದಳವು
ಸಾಹಸ ಮಾರಳವಪ್ರಮೇಯನಾ ॥

೧೮. ಮುಱಿಪರನುಲ್ಲ ಚೊತ್ತರಳಿ ಗೋಯಿಗ ಬೂತುಗ ಸೇನಸಾರ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳ ಬೆಳ್ಗುಪ್ಪನಿಃ
ಜೊಱಿಗ ಸಂಚಿಗ ಕಕ್ಕಗ ಸಿನ್ನಿವರ

೧೯. ಮಾಗಲ ಯೆಱೆಗಂಗ ಮದ್ದಸ ಬರಮ್ಮಣನುಂ ಮೊದಲಾಗೆ ಕೊತ್ತಮುಂಗೆಯಾಣ್ಮನಿ
ಗೋಡಿ ಸತ್ತವರ ಲೆಖ್ಖಮನಾರಱಿವರ್ಧರಿತ್ರಿಯೊಳು

೨೦. ಗಣ್ಡರಗಣ್ಡ ಮುಣ್ಡ ಜಗಕಾರಿಗ ಬೀರುಗ ನಾಗವರ್ಮ್ಮ ಮಾಗುಣ್ಡರಕಿಲ್ಲ ಮುತ್ತರ
ನೊಳಂಬರ ಚನ್ದಿಗೆ ಪೊನ್ನ ನನ್ನಿ

೨೧. ಗಂ ಮುಣ್ಡರಿವರ್ಮ್ಮರಾಜ ನರಗಂ ಸಿರಿಗಂ ಕಲವೂರ ಮಾಳದೊಳ್ಪಿಣ್ಡರನಿಕ್ಕಿಯೋಡಿಪರವ
ಕ್ರ್ಕಲಮಾಣಿಕ ಕಾಜಿರಂಗದೊಳ್

೨೨. ಎಳಗಂ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳನೆಂಬನನ್ತಬಳರಂ ತನ್ನೊಂದೆ ಜಾತ್ಯಶ್ವದಿಂ ಕಲಪೂರಲ್ಪೊಣರ್ಪಟ್ಟಿ
ಕಾದಿ ಪಲರಂ ಕೊನ್ದೀ ಜಯಸ್ತಂ

೨೩. ಭದೊಳ್ಕುಲ ಮಾಣಿಕ್ಯನು ಮಪ್ರಮೇಯನುಮೆನಿಪ್ಪತ್ಯುಗ್ರ ನಾಮಂಗಳೀ ನೆಲನುಂ ಚಂ
ದ್ರನು ಮುಳ್ಳಿನಂ ನಿಱಿಸಿದಂ ತಾನೀ ಮಹಾ

೨೪. ಸ್ಥಾನದೊಳ್ ಭುಜಬಲದಿಂ ಕೋಟರಿಪುಬ್ರಜಮುಂ ಕಲಪೂರ ಬಯಲೊಳಾನ್ತಿಱಿದು
ರಣೋರ್ವ್ವಿಜಯಿಯೆನಿಪಪ್ರಮೇ

೨೫. ಯನ ವಿಜ[1]ಯಂ ನಿರ್ಲಕ್ರ್ಕ ಚಂದ್ರ ತಾರಂಬರೆಗಂ

[1] ಈ ಅಕ್ಷರವನ್ನು ಪಂಕ್ತಿಯ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಬರೆದಿದೆ.

12 The Meaning of "Palidhvaja" : A Reinterpretation

M. CHIDANANDAMURTHY

IT is more than eighty years[1] since Sri K. B. Pathak tried to interpret the term *Palidhvaja* which appears in numerous inscriptions of South India, as well as in many Kannada works. His interpretation is almost accepted as final, and scholars have simply quoted him without giving a second thought to the correctness of his interpretation. The purpose of this paper is to show that Pathak's interpretation is not correct and to suggest a better meaning for the term.

Pathak's interpretation is based solely of Jinasena's *Purvapurana* where the word occurs during the course of four verses which are as follows:

स्रग्वस्त्रसहसानाब्ज हंसवीणामृगेशिनाम् ।
वृषभेभेंद्रचक्राणाम् ध्वजाः स्युर्दशभेदकाः ।।
अष्टोत्तरशतम् ज्ञेयः प्रत्येकम् पालिकेतनः ।
एकैकस्याम् दिशि प्रोच्चास्तरंगास्तोयधेरिव ।।
इत्यमी केतवो मोहनिर्जयोपार्जिता बभुः ।
विभोस्त्रिभुवनेशित्वम् शंसंन्तोनन्यगोचरम् ।।
दिश्येकस्याम् ध्वजाः सर्वे सहस्रम् स्यादशीतियुक् ।
चतसृष्वथ ते दिक्षु शून्यद्वित्रिक सागराः ।।

This is how Pathak interprets *Palidhvaja*: "We learn from what he (i.e. Jinasenacharya) says, that the term *Palidhvaja* or *Paliketana* does not itself mean any particular kind of flag, but denotes a peculiar arrangement in rows of the ten kinds of flags described below; *Pali*, in Sanskrit, in fact signifies a 'row'. In each direction, a hundred and eight flags of each kind, -or, in other words, a thousand and eighty flags, in all,–are ranged in lines. Thus, the total number of flags, in the four directions is four thousand three hundred and twenty. We are further told that the Lord Jina adopted the *Palidhvaja* as an indication of his universal empire over the three worlds after the conquest of *moha* or *maya* or DELUSION."

But one has to note the plural form used *Paliketanah*. In each

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1 'The explanation of the term Palidhvaja,' *Ind. Ant.*, XVI, pp. 104–5.

direction, there were ten kinds of main flags; for each main flag there were one hundred and eight *Palidhvajas.* Thus it is very clear that the term *Palidhvaja* can never suggest the whole arrangement of 1080 flags in each direction.

The earliest references that we could get of *Palidhvaja* are from the inscriptions of Chalukya Vinayaditya, of Badami, of the seventh century A.D. His inscriptions tell us that he acquired *Palidhvaja* and other things by defeating the kings of *Uttarapatha* and the things thus acquired were symbolic of his sovereignty.[2]

सकलोत्तरापथनाथमथनो पारिजात पालिध्वजादि समस्त पारमैश्वर्यचिह्नः विनयादित्य सत्याश्रय श्री पृथ्वीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर भट्टारकः[2] ।

It is further stated that his son Vijayaditya helped his father in achieving those symbols of sovereignty.[3]

गंगायमुना पालिध्वज पद्ढक्का महाशब्द चिह्न माणिक्य मतंगजादीन् पितृसात्कुर्वन् ।

All the honours acquired by Vinayaditya were inherited by the kings who succeeded him. These facts are enumerated in many Chalukyan inscriptions of the later period and also in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chalukyas also.[4]

We come across a few references to *Palidhvaja* in Kannada narrative works. The earliest references we have of *Palidhvaja* come from *Vaddaradhane*, a Jaina prose work of about ninth century A.D. *Palidhvaja* is here mentioned along with the throne, white umbrella, five great musical instruments, elephants etc., as symbolic of kingship. References to *Palidhvaja* in other works do not tell us anything more than this.

In many of these references we find the term *Palidhvaja* in its plural form. For example, ಪಾಲಿಕೇತನಂಗಳ್ in "*Pampa Bharata*" (10.27, *Vachana*); "ರಾಜಚಿಹ್ನ ಪಾಲಿಧ್ವಜಸಂಕುಲ" in "*Pampa Ramayana*" (2.12). In *Pampa Bharata*, there is a reference to *Palimahadhvaja* which is in singular, and the word will be explained later.

The plural form of *Paliketana* both in Sanskrit and Kannada clearly suggests that it represented banners in a row and not a particular arrangement as described in *Purvapurana*. It is very clear from the above argument that the *Palidhvaja* was a symbol of political supremacy. Jinasena used the term to suggest the spiritual supremacy of Lord Jina; that Jina was the spiritual Emperor of the whole Universe. The particular arrangement of flags which we saw earlier is peculiar to Jina, and there is no evidence to show that all the kings who had *Palidhvajas* had their banners arranged in the specified manner.

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[2] *SII.*, XX, No. 4, 683 A.D.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 5, 723 A.D.; No. 6, 730 A.D.; also compare *Ep. Ind.*, XXX, p. 321.

[4] For example, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIX, p. 66, 11th century A.D.

The description of the arrangement of banners has almost become a tradition with the Jaina Kannada poets and they have simply imitated Jinasena in this regard. The ten main banners are variously named as *brihad-dhvaja*, *nayaka-dhvaja* etc. The hundred and eight banners which are subordinate to the main banners are variously named as *maha-dhvaja*, *uccha-dhvaja* etc. It is these *maha-dhvajas* of the Kannada poets that are named by Jinasena as *Pali-dhvajas*. In a way, the *mahadhvaja* and *palidhvaja* are synonyms and the term *Pali-mahadhvaja* of Pampa becomes self-explanatory.

It is very clear that the term *Palidhvaja* suggests subordinate flags to a main flag. When we take into consideration the fact that Vinayaditya acquired *Palidhvajas* by defeating the kings of *Uttarapatha*, we are inclined to think that the subordinate banners belonged to the defeated kings. It is a well known fact that the kings brought back the flags of the defeated kings as war-trophies. Such a practice was in vogue in South India, and is attested to in various inscriptions. We get expressions like:

बहुसमरविजयलब्धपताकावभासित दिगन्तरालवलयः[5]
बहुसमरसमार्जित जयपताक शबलित नभस्थलः[6]

The tradition is as old as the story of *Mahabharata* itself and Vinayaditya seems to have had the banners of the *Uttarapatha* kings held along with his own banner the main one. The banners of the defeated kings, naturally, become a symbol of one's supremacy.

A careful study of one of the verses quoted above will further corroborate the above interpretation. The following is the verse:

इत्यमी केतवो मोहनिर्जयोपार्जिता बभुः
विभोस्त्रिभुवनेशित्वम् शंसन्तोनन्यगोचरम् ॥

Herein the poet seems to contrast Lord Jina with other mortal kings. The mortal kings acquire the (*Pali*) banners by defeating their human enemies; but Lord Jina acquired the banners by defeating his inner passions. The *Palidhvajas* of the kings proclaim their Lordship over a limited territory. But, the *Palidhvajas* of Lord Jina proclaimed his (Spiritual) Lordship over the three worlds.

To sum up—

1. *Palidhvaja* does not mean any particular arrangement of flags; it simply suggests a number of flags.
2. *Palidhvajas* are subordinate flags held along with a main flag.
3. Vinayaditya, the Chalukyan emperor, defeated the kings of *Uttarapatha* and acquired the *Palidhvaja*. This might mean that he brought back the banners of the defeated kings and had them along with his own banner. These subordinate

5 *SII.*, XX, No. 3.

6 *MAR* 1942, pp. 147–8.

banners or *Palidhvajas* were, perhaps, flown at a lower level than the royal or main banner. The *Palidhvajas* were a symbol of one's supremacy or sovereignty.

4. The Rashtrakutas who defeated the Badami Chalukyas acquired the *Palidhvajas* from them and proudly exhibited them as symbols of their supremacy. Jinasena who was patronized by the Rashtrakutas used the term *Palidhvaja* to describe the Spiritual supremacy of Lord Jina.

13

Vajra-baisanige : Derivation and Interpretation

P. B. DESAI

Vajra-baisanige is an expression occurring conspicuously in a good number of epigraphical records of the Kannada country and in Kannada language. It also figures in the variant forms such as *vajra-vaisanige*, *vajra-bayisanige*, etc. This is a compound word made up of two parts, *vajra* and *baisanige*. The second part in particular has many variants, some of which like *bhasanige* have undergone corruption.

This expression has not so far received due attention from the scholars and the explanations offered by some are not apt and befitting the context. It has thus remained almost an enigma and a puzzle. An attempt is made in this note to interpret and bring out its significance.

In his *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* (p. 182) Rice indicated that it was a ceremony of setting up the diamond *vaisanige* or *baisanige* and left the precise meaning of the second part of it unexplained. R. Ramarao who discussed this expression in some detail, concluded that it was a diamond seat or pedestal used by the merchants in their meetings.[1] Evidently, he took the second part of the expression to mean seat or pedestal, but gave no clue as to how he arrived at this meaning.

B. A. Saletore who seemed to have devoted some critical thought over this, stated that it was a ceremony of setting up a diamond. But what it was exactly and how it was performed, was left untouched. Plainly, as in the case of others, he took the first part of the expression, *vajra* in the well-known sense of diamond. He, however, did not take a serious note of the second part *baisanige*. Incidentally, he referred to its Prakrit origin, connecting it with the Konkani root *bais* meaning to sit, the ending suffix *ge* being Kannada.[2]

Leaving aside such interpretations by different scholars, let us approach this problem independently and go to its very origin. It

[1] *Sambhavane* (B. M. Srikanthayya Felicitation Volume, Kannada 1941), p. 212.

[2] *Karnataka, Trans-Oceanic Contacts* (Pub. Karnatak University 1956), pp. 26–27.

has to be specifically noted at the outset that this expression is invariably met with in the context of business meeting conducted under the auspices of the local bodies of various trades and crafts, affiliated to the great central organization of businessmen, renowned in Karnataka and outside under the title *Ayyavale* Five Hundred. The phrase generally used to describe the physical mode or posture of the participants assembled there is one of the following: *vajrabaisanigeyan-ikki kullirdu*, *vajrabaisanigeyan-ikki* or simply, *vajrabaisanigeyagi*.

The meetings of these businessmen were usually arranged in the precincts of temples and in the vicinity of the deities. They were not associated with the ruling kings or royal personages. Being matter-of-fact and businesslike, they were devoid of pomp. In the light of this knowledge and on this background we have to consider the sense and significance of the above expression. The situation and environment rule out the familiar connotation of the first part of the expression, viz. *vajra* as diamond.

Now, we have to examine if the word *vajra* has any usage other than the usual one, which would yield a suitable meaning in conjunction with the second word *baisanige* connected with it. Separating the Kannada suffix *ige* (*ike*), what remains of it is *baisana*.[3] This can be recognized as a prakrit derivation from the Sanskrit *upavesana* which means sitting down. This is the noun form of the root *upavis*, to sit down. *Baisike(ge)* is another kindred word having vogue in Kannada, derived from the same root *upavis*. This means sitting down and rising up on legs (in exercise or punishment.)[4] Proceeding further, we may equate *vajra-baisana* with *vajra-upavesana* in Sanskrit.

But what is this *vajra-upavesana* or *vijra*-sitting down? It makes no sense. No expression like *vajra-upavesana* has found its way in Sanskrit vocabulary. But though not directly, there does exist indirectly an expression in Sanskrit which is synonym of *vajra-upavesana*. It is *vajrasana* made up of two words *vajra* and *asana*, the latter being equivalent of *upavesana*. Literally, this means *vajra*-sitting down, but it has a technical connotation which deserves consideration here.[5]

Asana means, in its special sense, sitting in peculiar postures one of which is *vajrasana*. There are others like *padmasana*, *bhadrasana*, *virasana* and *svastikasana*, all of which have their technical

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[3] The Sanskrit root *upavis* has become *bais* and *bas* in Marathi through the process of Prakritisation. Hindi *baith*, *baithak* etc. are to be traced from the same root with its past participle from *upavishta*.

[4] Kittel's Dictionary (old edn.), p. 1153.

[5] The ordinary connotation of *vajrasana* would be diamond seat or throne. But this, as seen above, is not admissible here.

features. Thus *varaasana* is a sitting posture with crossed legs, the hands being joined and placed in the hollow between the body and the legs.[6] Such postures were devised for the physical and mental discipline of a devotee or aspirant and prescribed in the religious and spiritual contexts and also applied to the yogis and deities. The above connotation of *vajrasana* is apt and squarely fits in the present context. It may be assumed quite reasonably that *vajra-baisanige* of Kannada records was nothing but *vajrasana* which constituted a peculiar sitting posture as pointed out above.

Kannada is a living speech which has the flexibility of borrowing Sanskrit words and retaining them in its vocabulary to suit its character and mode. Thus it seems quite possible that instead of using the classical expression *vajrasana* in their terminology, the trading community of Karnataka thought it fit, several centuries ago, to retain the first part of it (*vajra*) and replace the second part (*asana*) by the Kannadised Prakrit word *baisanige* with which they were familiar by frequent usage.

That *vajra-baisanige* was a mode of sitting and had nothing to do with diamond, becomes quite explicit if we also note the manner and context of its occurrence in the epigraphical literature. Of the three familiar forms of the phrase wherein it occurs, mentioned above, the words *ikki* (having placed or adjusted in the proper position) and *kullirdu* (seated) in the first, fully substantiate the above interpretation. The second and the third are only its abbreviated versions.

Lastly, we have to consider the question, what was the necessity for the members of the business community to mention how and in which posture they sat while deliberating, since the sitting posture was not as important as the transactions carried out and the decisions taken on such occasions. It may be pointed out in this connection that these meetings were of great consequence and their decisions had far reaching effects in the public sector across the business communities. Therefore such occasions were deemed as solemn and proper ceremony with its religious significance to be observed in their conduct. Hence it was necessary to adhere to the fundamental rite of *vajrasana* which at once invested the meetings with solemnity and religious sanction. This explains the frequent references to *vajra-baisanige* in the official records of these bodies which were meant as public announcements.

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6 V. S. Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (revised and enlarged edn.), Vol. III, p. 1331.

14

Mahanadu

G. S. DIKSHIT

THERE are many terms used in connection with the guilds of merchants and craftsmen in early and mediaeval Karnatak the meanings of which have to be properly defined. Words like *Salumule* and *Mummuridanda* used in relation to guilds have defied explanation. Another word called *Baisanige* or *Vajra-baisanige* has confused modern scholars. Mr. R. Narasimhachar gave its most plausible explanation and said that *Vajra-baisanige* was equivalent to *Vajrasana* and that this probably meant that the guild members when they met formally in their meetings sat in *Vajrasana*. But subsequently scholars have ignored this explanation and have equated *Vajra-baisanige* with *Vajra-bisanige* and translaetd it as diamond-fan and said that this was the symbol or insignia which was placed at guild meetings, before such meetings began.

The term which is taken up here for consideration is *Mahanadu*. Etymologically it should mean the great *nadu*. But *nadu* is a term which was and is used very loosely. It was used to denote a group of few villages like Kundara-nadu or a bigger area like Banavase-nadu for Banavase—12,000. In modern times, we use it to denote even bigger areas like Kannadanadu or Tamilnadu. In the pre-Vijayanagara, Vijayanagara and even later times, *Mahanadu* was a term exclusiveiy used in connexion with guilds or their meetings.

In pre-Vijayanagara Karnataka, there are instances when the guilds appropriated to themselves or to their meeting the names of the territorial units or divisions. Thus, their groups or meetings were known as *nagara* or *Mahanagara* in a town or a *nagara* and in a *nadu* they were known as *Mahanadu* or *Desa*. These meetings were attended by the officials and non-official bodies in charge of town administration such as the *Mahajanas* or *Gaudaprajes* and also the local guilds in addition to guild representatives from all over the *nadu* or groups of *nadus*. But the initiative for holding such meetings came from guilds and their leadership remained with them. An inscription at Kalholi[1] speaks of the *Mahanadu* meeting in that place "as of all the (people of the) district headed by all the guilds of the place." This is in consonance with the earlier tradition of the dominance of

[1] *JBBRAS.*, X, p. 218.

district assemblies by guild leaders. The *nagara-sreshthi*, *prathama-kulika* and *prathama-kayastha* of the Gupta times had their counterparts in *samaya-chakravarti*, *pattana-svami*, *vadda-vyavahari* and *Raja-sreshthi* who had a powerful say in district affairs.[2]

A very representative example of a *Mahanadu* meeting of the type mentioned above was held in 1186 A.D. in Sirsangi (earlier Hirisingi) in Belgaum district.[3] It was a meeting of two regions known as Two-six-hundred (or Puligere—300 and Belvola—300 and the two together forming the district of Two-six-hundred) and Kundi—3,000 —roughly modern Dharwar and Belgaum districts. The former region was represented by eight towns and the latter by four towns within them.

I have elsewhere[4] shown that the organisation of the merchants of the four towns in Kundi—3000 forming a strong association was in existence for over a century. Its president was known as *Samaya-chakravarti*. The *Vaisyapuranamu*[5] describes such an organisation of guilds in Penugonda near Rajahmundry and calls its secretary *Samaya-mantri*, whereas its Karnataka counterpart called its president *Samaya-chakravarti*. From this, we may guess that the guild organisations in both mediaeval Karnataka and Andhra were also known as *Samaya* and since *Samaya* also means rules, conventions, compact and agreement, we may take it that the purpose of the guild meetings was to make rules for the observance of its members. In fact, that is what we see in these *Mahanadu* or *Samaya* meetings.

To go back to the *Mahanadu* meeting at Sirsangi in 1186, it was attended, in addition, by the chief merchants from Lala or South Gujarat and Maleyala settled in Karnataka or doing business there, the various constituents of the guild of five-hundred of that place and the headmen of Hirisingi. The purpose of the meeting was to make contributions to the temple of Hebbesvara in that place.

While in pre-Vijayanagara times, the *Mahanadu*[6] was invariably a meeting of the guilds spread over a particular region, in Vijayanagara times, the term was indiscriminately used to describe guilds in one place or in one *nadu*. Thus one record[7] of 1525 A.D. speaks of the *Mahanadu* of Dumme agreeing along

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 128.

[3] *KI.*, I, pp. 40ff.

[4] *Local Self-Government in Mediaeval Karnataka*, p. 32.

[5] Bhaskaracharya, *Vaisyapuranamu*, Madras, 1929, *Passim.*

[6] A list of the *Mahanadu* meetings held in Pre-Vijayanagara meetings which I have come across will be found in my book *Local Self-Government in Mediaeval Karnatak*, p. 33, fn. 16. A few more such examples from *SII.*, XX are Nos. 165 and 299 and *SII.*, XV, No. 106.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk. 15.

with the Headmen and *Pattana-svami* of the place to an assignment of the income from taxes to a local temple. A second similar example[8] is that of the *Mahanadu* of the suburbs of Vijayanagara such as Tirumaladeviyara-pattana, Varadarajammana-pattana and Krishnapura. In 1538 A.D., this *Mahanadu*, called in the record as *Desavarada Salumule Mahanadu*, along with the *Setti-pattanasvamis* or mayors of the suburbs mentioned above gave their consent to an assignment of the income from certain duties to a temple in Tirumaladeviyara-pattana. But an inscription of 1547 A.D., from Lakshmeshwar[9] reverts to the earlier meaning of *Mahanadu* as the organisation of the guilds of a *nadu*. It records a remission of taxes on marriages in Huligere-nadu granted by the king at the request of Sudagadu Lingisetti, a representative of the *Mahanadu*, the *Bhattas* and the eighteen *prajas* of Huligere-nadu.

The *Samaya-chakravarti* or the president of the *Mahanadu* meetings of the earlier times appears to have been known as *Mahanada-prabhu* in Vijayanagar times. The examples are the following. A record of 1505[10] A.D. mentions the grant of Bittanakurike to Machi-nayaka by the *Mahamandalesvara* Ramaraja Jagannatharajayadevamaha-arasu and the *Maha-nada-prabhu* Kempavirappa-gauda. An inscription of 1593 A.D.[11] says that *Mahanada-prabhu* Bijavara Chikapa-gauda's son built a fort. In 1598 A.D.[12] the *Mahanada-prabhu* Mummadi Chikkappa-gaudaraiya of Bidyavara gave a *grama-umbali*.

The examples of *Mahanadu* mentioned above are all of the Vijayanagara period. The institution of *Mahanadu* can be seen in the Adil Shahi kingdom also. A record of 1500 A.D.[13] registers a *cowl* or decree granted by Galibkhana who was holding the Thana-Mamle of Muhammadabad and Talekote to all the *Mahanadu* headed by Tammannayya Chaudhiri and others, fixing the amount of taxes to be levied on various professions, products of merchandise, live-stock etc. The representative position of the *Mahanadu* continued upto later times also for, in a record of 1645 A.D.,[14] we read of the grant of a *cowl* for a period of 12 years to the *Mahanadus* of Rustum-pethe which was newly built in Annigere-sime by Rustum-majama-saheba who was the son of the famous general Ranadullakhan Saheba, the agent of the king.

We see from the examples quoted above the evolution of the *Mahanadu* as a representative body of a district with which the government officers had to enter into an agreement about the taxes

[8] *SII.*, IX (ii), No. 573.
[9] *ARSIE.*, Bk. No. 17 of 1935–36.
[10] *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tm. 107.
[11] *Ibid.*, Mi. 21.
[12] *Ibid.*, Tm. 68.
[13] *ARSIE.*, Bk. No. 139 of 1933–34.
[14] *Ibid.*, 202 of 1928–29.

to be paid by the people. The same situation existed in the Keladi kingdom, one of the successors of Vijayanagara kingdom. In 1606 A.D.[15], the *Mahanadu* (the *Mahanadu Setti Samastaru*) throughout the kingdom ruled by Venkatappa-nayaka on all the local roads for all animals agreed to give as *dharma*, visa by visa, in all the *thanas* (named) of the Ikkeri or Keladi kingdom.

One of the last examples viz., of 1745 A.D.[16] of the *Mahanadu* exercising its functions as described above comes from Banavara near Arsikere. The *Mahanadinavaru* of a number of countries under the leadership of Bhaskaranna granted a deed of gift for the service of the god Venkatachala of Tirupati (near Arasikere). Some of the qualities attributed to the *Mahanadinavaru* or guild-merchants of a number of countries who had assembled in Banavara were the following: proficient in testing diamonds and other precious-stones, Harischandra in truthfulness, Arjuna in valour, Karna in giving away, Dharma in patience, making a forest into a shop, a wood into a city, and touchstones for testing justice and injustice. Except that passing uncurrent coins as current was also considered a virtue, the record sets a very high standard for the *mahanadinavaru*, who were all possessors of *Sivachara* and friends of *guru, linga and jangama*. This meeting was held in the *mantapa* in front of the Basavesvara temple in Banavara. The control of these *Mahanadinavaru* extended over the grain-dealers, oil-mongers, weavers, tailors, potters, betel-leaf sellers, leather merchants, sheep and buffalo sellers, *panchalas* and cultivators. While the Ikkeri inscription says that the jurisdiction of the *Mahanadina Setti Samstharu* extended all over the Keladi or Ikkeri kingdom, the Banavara (Arsikere) inscription extends it to all categories of merchants and craftsmen without specifying the area excepting calling it 56 countries or all the countries.

Probably, the reorganisation of trade carried out by Tipu Sultan by which both internal and external trade was monopolised by government must have dealt a heavy blow to the *Mahanadu*. However, it existed as a caste. The Tuluva Vellalar community in Bangalore called itself a *Mahanadu* till recently. A report[17] about this community by one of its members reads as follows: "The local assembly of the people of our community which is convened by a public announcement is what is called the *Mahanadu*. At this assembly, we elect a competent man to be the head of our community in our locality and he is called the *Mahanadu*."

Thus the *Mahanadu* which started in pre-Vijayanagar times, as a name for the meetings of guilds in a *nadu*, came to signify the

[15] *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sa. 123.
[16] *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 94.
[17] *QJMS.*, II, p. 62.

guilds of merchants in towns and districts. In the post-Vijayanagara period, it acted as the representative of all the guilds of merchants and entered into agreements with the governments about the duties to be paid by them to the government. It also supported works of charity by levying duties on its members. In the British period, it evidently disappeared. It now survives in South India as the name of meetings of certain castes and their elected leaders.

PLATE I

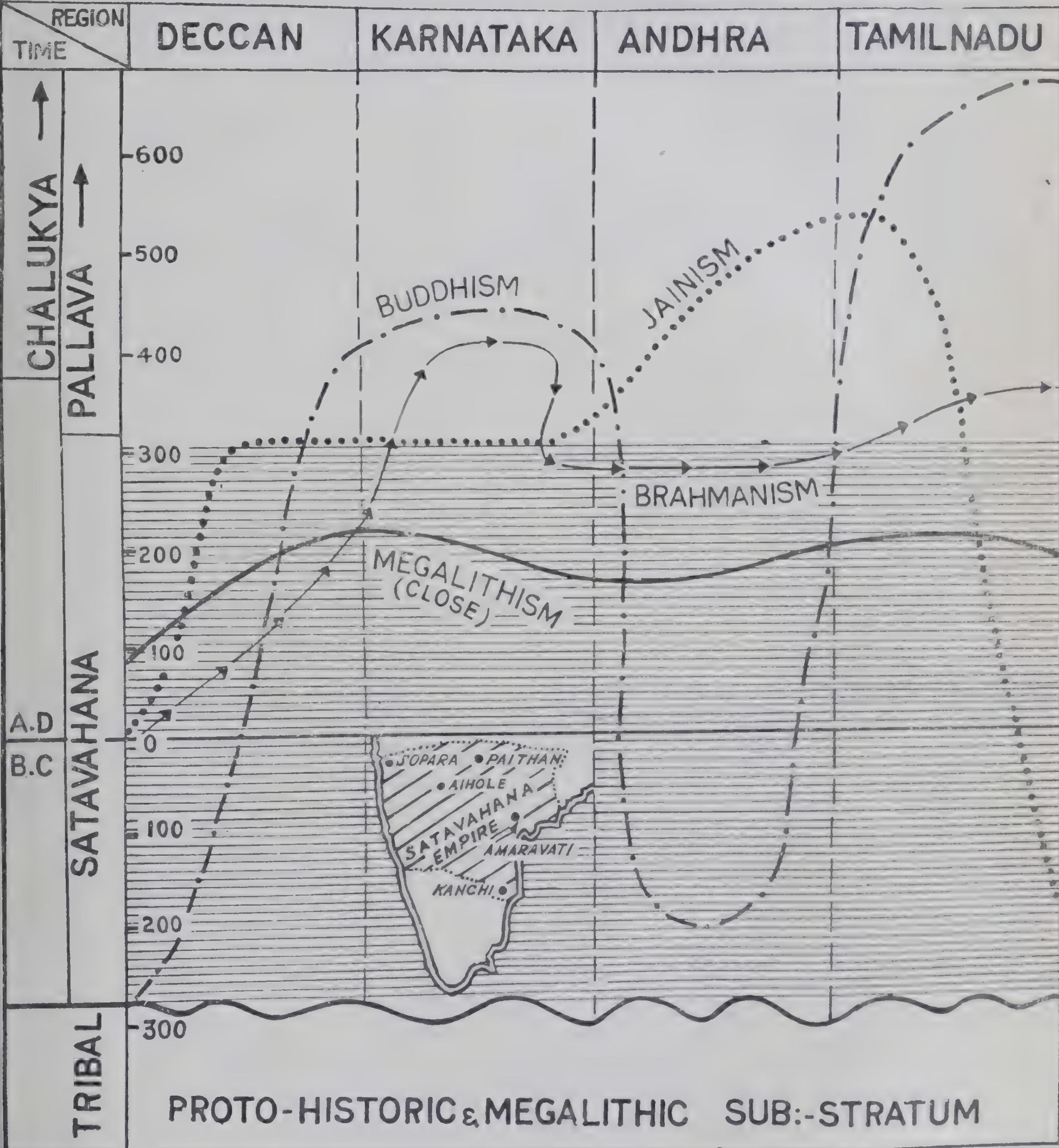
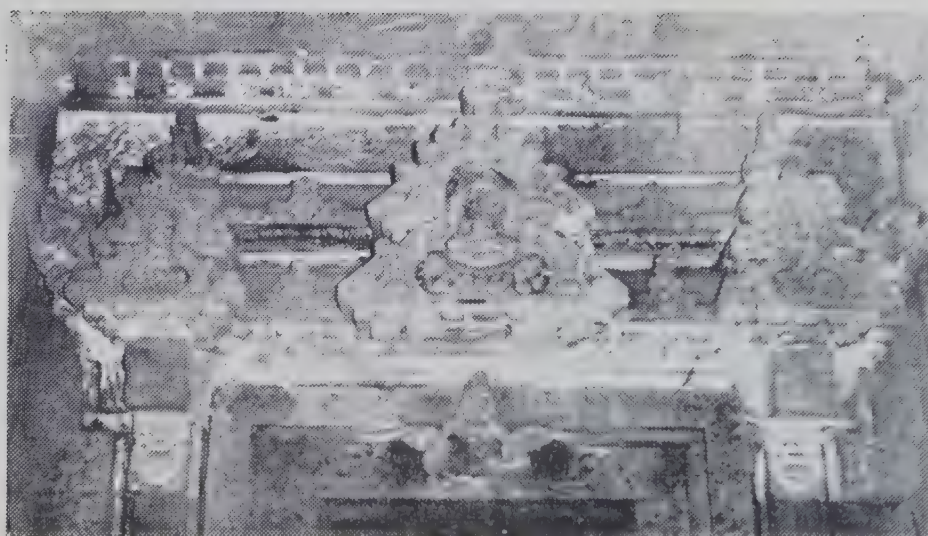

SATAVAHANA PERIOD
RELIGIO-CULTURAL MOVEMENTS
REGION
TIME
DECCAN
KARNATAKA
ANDHRA
TAMILNADU
CHALUKYA
PALLAVA
SATAVAHANA
TRIBAL
600
500
400
300
200
100
A.D
0
B.C
100
200
300
BUDDHISM
JAINISM
BRAHMANISM
MEGALITHISM
(CLOSE)
SOPARA
PAITHAN
AIHOLE
SATAVAHANA EMPIRE
AMARAVATI
KANCHI
PROTO-HISTORIC & MEGALITHIC SUB:-STRATUM

PLATE II-1



Architrave, Bhagavati Temple, Sanctum Doorway. Aihole

PLATE II-2



Architrave, Surya Temple Sanctum Doorway, Aihole

PLATE III (1-3)



The Vihara, Aihole



The small Jaina Cave, Aihole



The Jaina Cave, Aihole

Ladkhan Temple Complex

PLATE IV-1



PLATE IV–2



Siva as Kalantaka, Pattadakal

PLATE IV-3



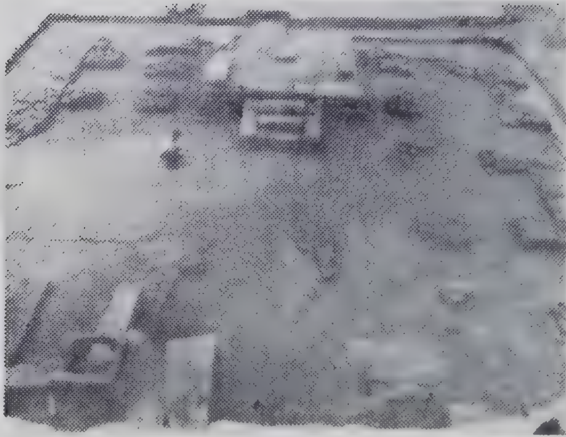
Siva as Tripurantaka, Pattadakal

PLATE V–1



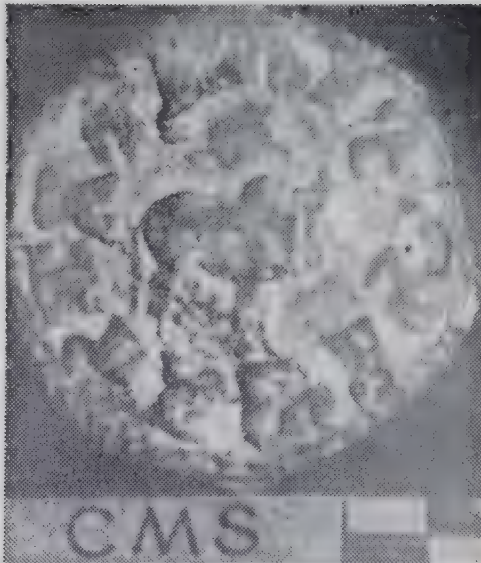
Virupaksha Temple Complex-view from North

PLATE V–2



Satavahana Brick Temple, Aihole

PLATE V–3



Satavahana Lead Coin from Aihole

PLATE VI-1



Clearance operation–Kunti Temple Complex, Aihole

PLATE VI–2

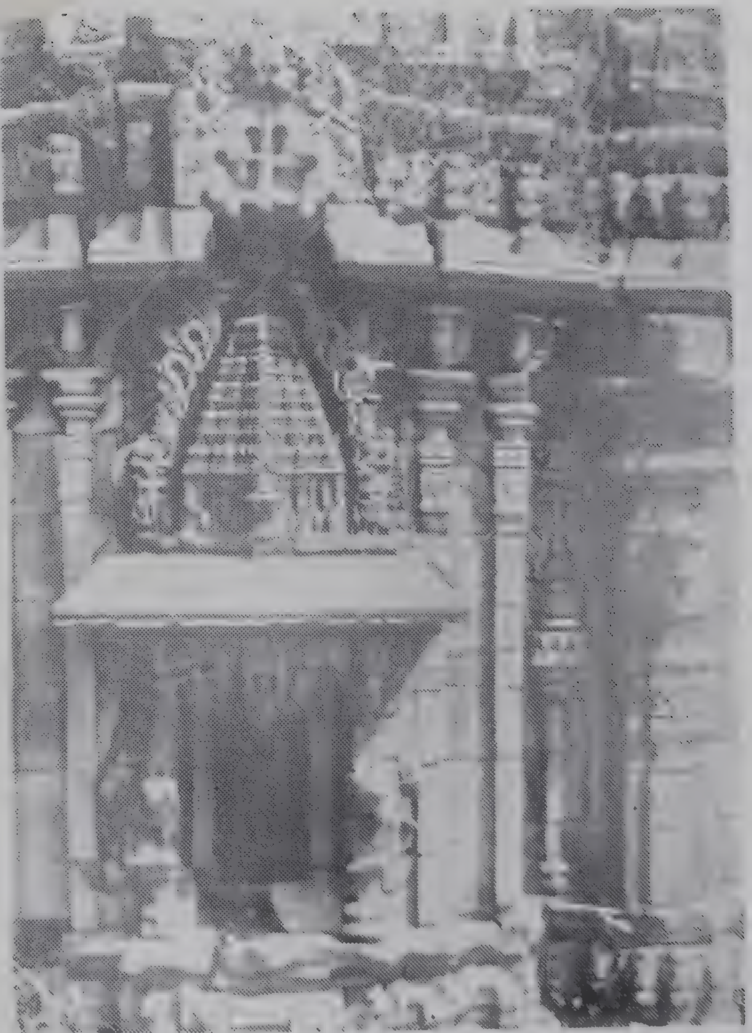


Ladkhan Temple, Aihole—after clearance

PLATE VII



1



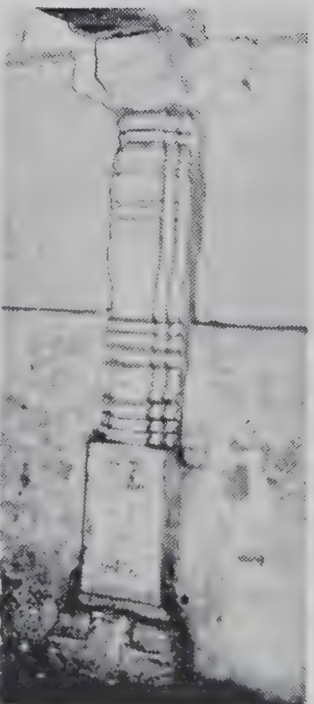
2

1. KAMDOLLI: Rameshvara temple
   from northeast.
2. The Devakoshtha facing west.

PLATE VIII



1



3



4



2

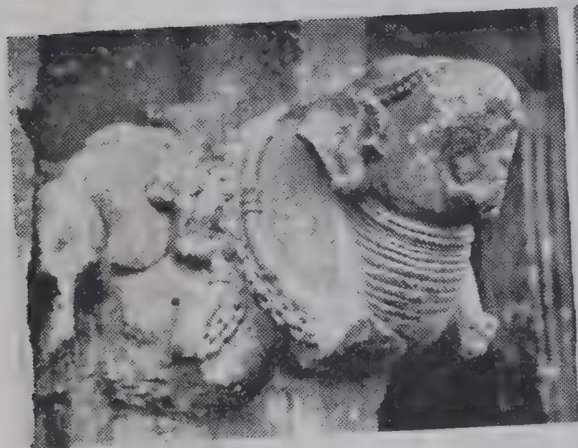
Rameshvara temple: 1. The five tiers of the plinth. 2. The Chandras ila. 3. The pilaster of the Sabhamandapa. 4. The central pillar and the pilaster of the Sabhamandapa.



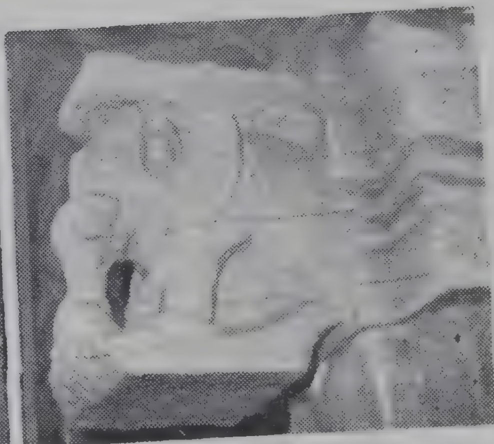
1



2



3



4

Rameshvara temple: 1. The arabesque design. 2. The elephant pedestal for bracket figures. 3 & 4. The elephant pedestals of Devakoshtha and the wall.

PLATE X



1



2

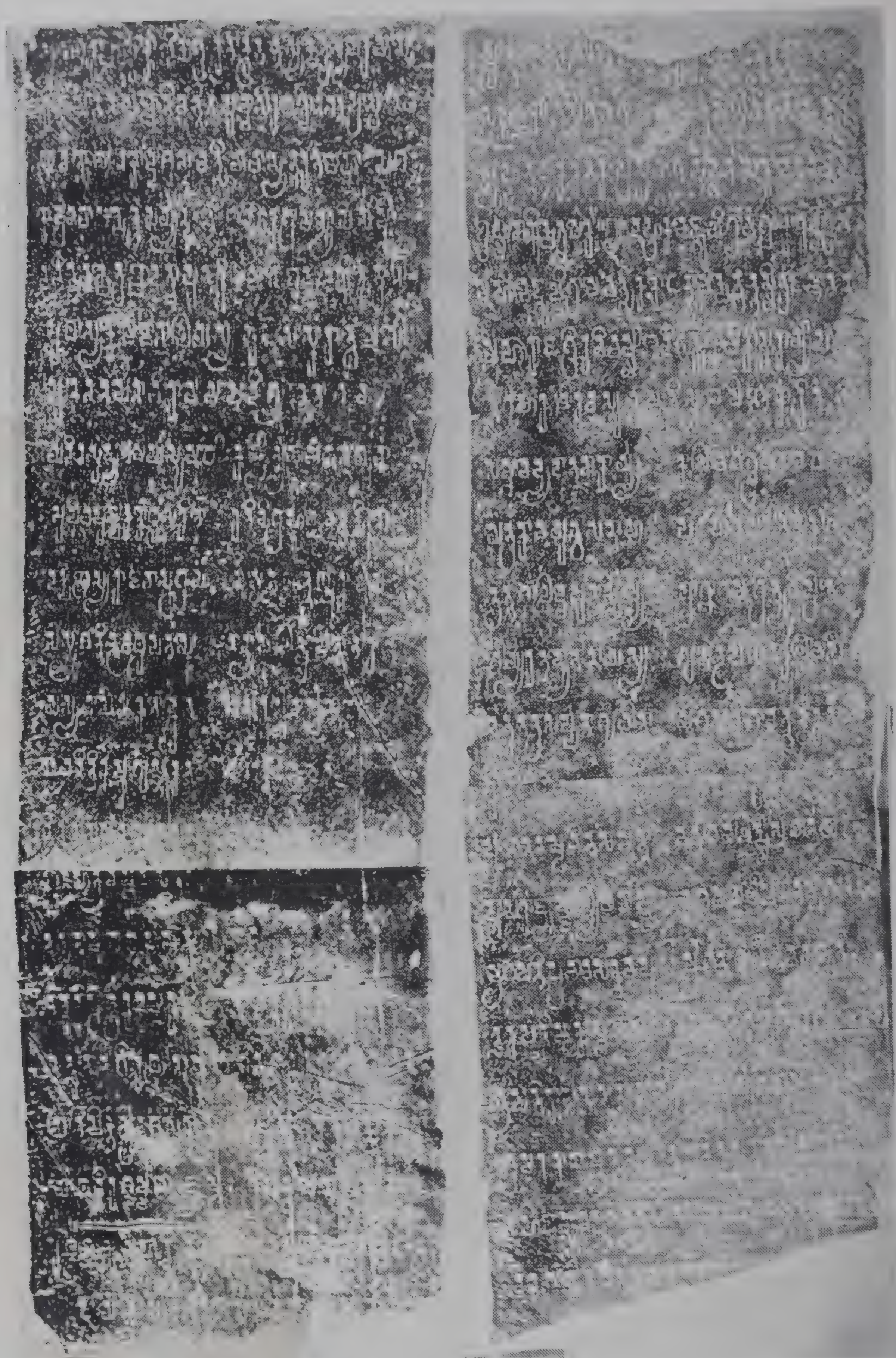


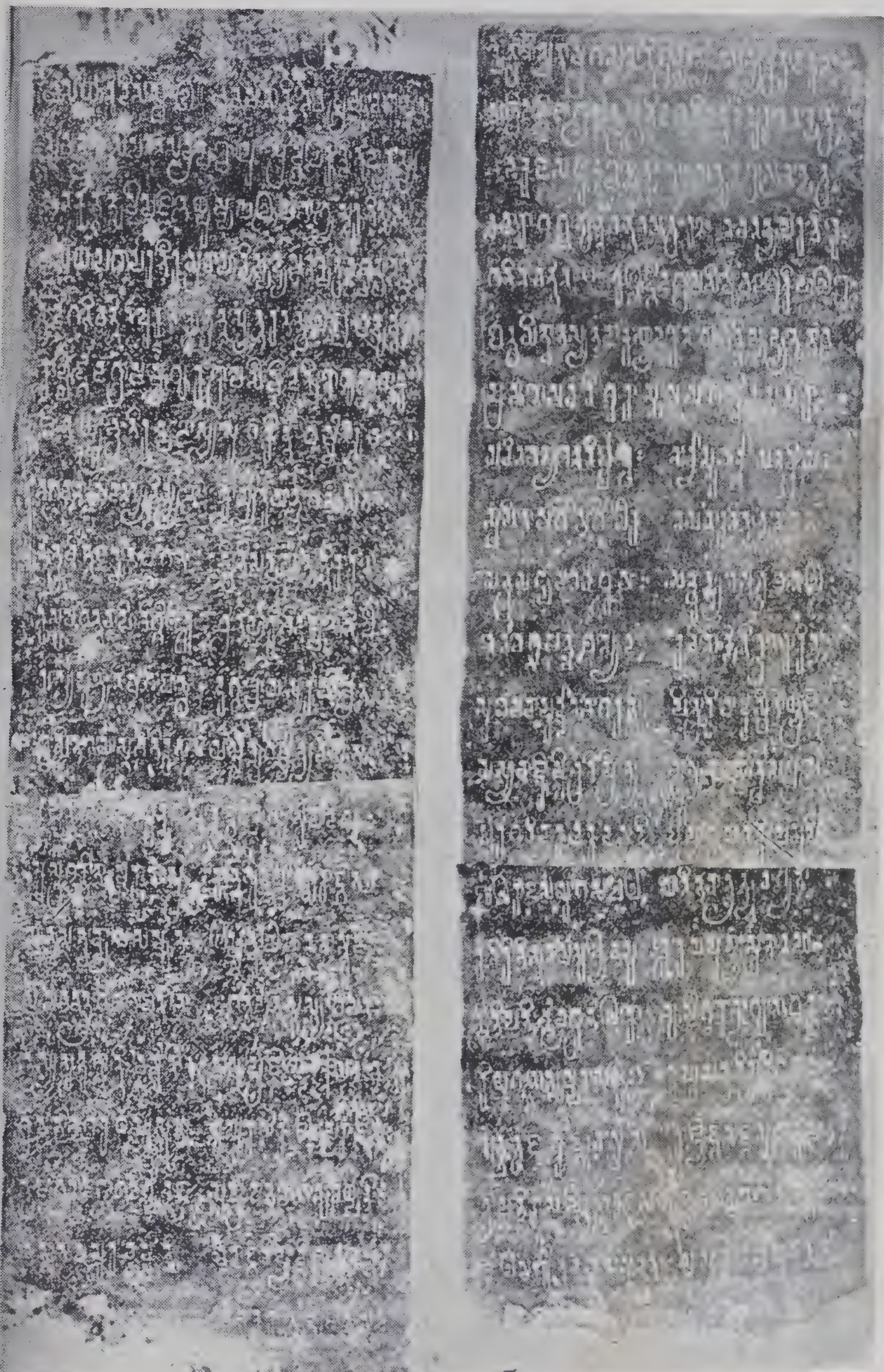
3



4

Rameshvara temple: The sculptures.







1. Panchalingesvara Temple, Barakuru

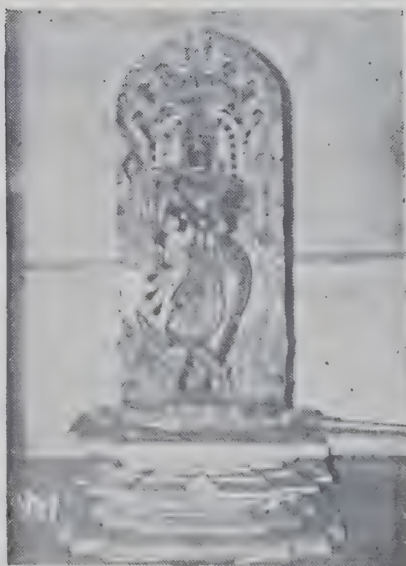


2. Brahmachari, Skanda
Panchalingesvara Temple, Barakuru



3. Sarada, Somanatha Temple,
Mudukeri, Barakuru

PLATE XIII



1. Gopalakrishna,
Kotekeri, Barakuru



2. Virabhadra.
Virabhadra Temple, Barakuru



3. Kalikamba,
Kalikamba Temple, Barakuru

HISTORY

15

Notes on Some Imperial Dynasties of Karnataka

K. V. RAMESH

THE original homes of the Kadambas of Banavasi, the Chalukyas of Vatapi and the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta have for long been matters of controversy among Indian historians. As a result, scholars have offered, from time to time, conflicting interpretations of the epigraphical data pertaining to the origin and early activities of these dynasties. These interpretations are, more often than not, based on the rather dubious premise that the claims made, on these matters, by these ruling families themselves are all mere unhistorical concoctions. In this paper a fresh attempt, based on a re-examination of the relevant epigraphical records, is made to find out the original homes of these dynasties, the relevance of their early fields of activities to their subsequent appearance as the imperial houses of Karnataka and the approximate historical moment of their attainment and subsequent loss of imperial status on the soil of Karnataka.

Speaking in general terms, the pre-Kadamba period of Karnataka's regional history can be termed the pre-Karnataka or, more precisely, the pre-Kannada epoch. For, the families which are known to have held sway over some parts of Karnataka prior to the advent of the Banavasi Kadambas were alien to Karnataka and the nucleus of political power from which they derived their hegemony was clearly located outside Karnataka. It is only with the rise of the Banavasi Kadambas and their southern contemporaries, the Gangas of Talakad and, particularly, with the appearance, in the middle of the fifth century A.D., of the Halmidi Kannada inscription, that the picture of Karnataka as the land of the Kannadiga falls into proper historical perspective. Naturally, therefore, the early Kadamba period forms the beginning of the subject-matter of this paper.

The Kadambas of Banavasi

The inscriptions of the early Kadambas do not tell us anything directly about their original home. Nevertheless, a close scrutiny of the well known Talagunda inscription is, indeed, revealing. It is, for instance, stated therein that this ancient family came to be

called 'Kadamba' because of a LONE Kadamba tree in the vicinity of their house—

'गृहसमीप देश संरूढ
विकसत्कदंबैक पादपम्'[1]

Now, until the recent past the Kadamba tree was common throughout India except in Konkana.[2] Since a lone Kadamba tree would have given the family the causal name of Kadamba only if it had been grown in a non-Kadamba-growing area, it may be reasonably presumed that the early Kadambas must have migrated from some Kadamba-growing area to some place in non-Kadamba Konkana, probably in the Kanara tract, as suggested by their known history ; the Kadamba seed which they took with them and grew in the vicinity of their new habitation must have been locally rare enough for them to be identified as the Kadambas.

From which part of India, then, did the Kadambas migrate to the Konkana ? A dispassionate reexamination of the early history of the family as recorded in the Talagunda inscription, involving the career of Mayurasarman and his conflict and subsequent compact with and coronation by the Pallavas does suggest, though only indirectly, that the place from which the Kadambas migrated was within Karnataka itself. After narrating the fact that Mayurasarman journeyed upto Kanchi in order to join the *Ghatika* there and that he was involved in a skirmish with the Pallavas which necessitated his flight from the Pallava capital as a fugitive, the inscription says—

'योऽन्तपालान्पल्लवेन्द्राणां
सहसा विनिर्जित्य संयुगे ।
अध्युवास दुर्गमामटवीं
श्रीपर्वतद्वार संश्रिताम् ॥'[3]

This verse has been taken to mean that, after giving the slip to the Pallava frontier-guards, Mayurasarman retired to the inaccessible forest stretching to the gates of Sriparvata, 'the sacred Srisaila in the Karnul District'[4] of Andhra Pradesh. However, this identification of Sriparvata with Srisaila appears to be far off the mark. Further on, the Talagunda inscription itself tells us that his Pallava adversaries, when once they had felt the impact of Mayurasarman's prowess and had realised the political advantages that would accrue

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 32, verse 7.

[2] Apte's revised and enlarged Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Vol I, s.v.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 32, verse 14.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 28, Foot Note 4.

to them if only they had him for an ally, not only patched up their differences with him but also crowned him ruler of the territory bordered by the waters of the western sea and bounded by the Prehara—

'भंगुरोर्मिवल्गितैर्नृत्यदपराणेवाम्भः कृतावधिं
प्रेहरान्तामनन्यसंचरणसमयस्थितां भूमिमेव च'[5]

If Mayurasarman had sought refuge in the Srisailam region of Andhra Pradesh, it would be for the only reason that he, being a native of that region, was familiar with its terrain and logistic advantages. How then could the Pallavas have planted him, an alien to the soil of Karnataka, as the ruler of the territory between the western sea and the Prehara ? Would the people of Karnataka and the local rulers have timidly accepted such arbitrary superimposition of an alien hegemony ? On the other hand, it will be only reasonable to suppose that Mayurasarman, as a result of his conflict with the Pallavas, fled to the thickly forested and impenetrable and strategic Malenadu—Kanara region, being his own native ground, from where, with the assistance of the local powers and population, he could successfully keep at bay Pallava attempts at suppressing him. It is also only natural that when the Pallavas found out that they could not dislodge him from that region, they merely solved the problem by proclaiming him the rightful master of all that territory. It is thus clear that the Sriparvata of the Talagunda inscription should be searched for somewhere in the Malenadu-Kanara region.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that Sriparvata is a very generalised name with the often used variants of Srisaila and Srigiri. Even the famous Tirumalai is only the Tamil version of these Sanskrit variants. In view of the limited geographical possibilities suggested by the Talagunda record as enunciated above, it will be worthwhile to examine whether some hilly land-mark in the Malenadu-Kanara region itself could have been meant by the reference to Sriparvata as the region to which Mayurasarman fled. For a beginning, one may venture to point out that Sisila, a village in South Kanara district, is only the corrupt form of the Sanskrit name Srisaila; in early historical times, the famous holy place Sringeri itself could have been known by the meaningful name of Srigiri. At any rate, in view of all that has been said above, it is reasonable to hold that the Kadambas were natives of the Malenadu region and that, prior to Mayurasarman's journey to Kanchi, they had migrated to Konkana in the Kanara region where their Kadamba tree, being alien to that region, fetched them the family name of 'Kadamba'.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 32, verse, 11.

The Talagunda inscription says that Mayurasarman went to Kanchi accompanied by his *guru* Virasarman—

'यः प्रयाय पल्लवेन्द्रपुरीं गुरुणा समं वीरशर्मणा।'[6]

In the absence of any further information, it was all these days held that Virasarman was nothing more than Mayurasarman's preceptor. However, from the recently discovered Gudnapur inscription[7] of Ravivarman, Virasarman is now known to have been Mayurasarman's grandfather. It is clear from this that in the Talagunda inscription the word *guru* has been employed not only in the sense of 'a preceptor' but also in the general sense of 'a relative older than one's self'. Virasarman was obviously Mayurasarman's grandfather as well as preceptor.

The Gudnapur inscription also reveals, for the first time, that Mayurasarman's father was Bandhushena. In the light of this new information, the following verse occurring in the Halsi plates of Ravivarman is of considerable interest—

'आचार्यबन्धुषेणाह्वैः निमित्तज्ञानपारगैः ।
स्थापितो भुवि यद्वंशः श्रीकीर्तिकुलवृद्धये ॥'[8]

Mayurasarman's father is herein referred to as the *acharya* i.e. preceptor. The description of his grandfather and father as *guru* and *acharya* respectively shows that Virasarman and Bandhushena had both trained and moulded the mind and thinking of Mayurasarman in such a way that he could, at a moment of crisis, react in an effective manner as to get himself hoisted to the position of a powerful ruler. It is not clear what the Halsi stanza means by attributing the establishment of the Kadamba family to Bandhushena. Is it possible that he was responsible for the migration of the family to Konkana by virtue of which it came to be called 'Kadamba'?

The Chalukyas of Vatapi

Sometime in the second half of the sixth century A.D., the Banavasi Kadambas were swept off their feet by the Vatapi Chalukyas under the leadership of Kirttivarman I. The copper plate charters of the later Chalukyas of Kalyana, who claimed direct descent from the Vatapi Chalukyas, aver that fifty-nine ancestors of the latter had originally ruled over the Ayodhya region—

'तज्जेषु राज्यमनुपाल्य गतेषु राजसु
एकान्नषष्टिगणनेषु पुराध्ययोध्यम् ।'[9]

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[6] *Ibid.* Verse 10.

[7] *Kannada Prabha*, dated 5-4-71; *The Indian Express*, dated 22-5-1971; *The Hindu*, dated 3-6-1971.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 26, text, lines 11-13.

[9] See *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 150, Text, verse 5.

It is customary for historians dealing with the dynastic history of Karnataka to summarily dismiss this claim as a mere later concoction in spite of the fact that the approved draft of the *prasasti* of the Kalyana Chalukya copper-plate inscriptions contains a surprisingly high percentage of historical truth. For instance, the facts that Pulakesin I had performed the horse-sacrifice and had founded the city of Vatapi, that Kirttivarman I had defeated the Nala, Maurya and Kadamba kings, that Mangalesa had routed the Kalachuris and had occupied the Revati-dvipa, that Pulakesin II had defeated Harsha and that the Chalukyas came to grief during the reign of Kirttivarman II—facts well known to us from contemporaneous records—are all found correctly recapitulated in the Kalyana Chalukya copper-plate inscriptions, proving thereby that the later Chalukyas had access to historical documents pertaining to the Chalukyas of Vatapi. In the light of this, it is worthwhile examining if the claim of the Kalyana Chalukyas that the Vatapi ruling house had connections with the Ayodhya region can be otherwise substantiated. One piece of credible though unexpected admission of this Ayodhya connection is met with in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha I in which, in the context of eulogising Krishna I, the following lines are inscribed—

'चकर्ष चालुक्य कुलश्रियं बलात्
विलोलपालिध्वजमालभारिणीम् ॥
अयोध्य सिंहासन चामरोर्जितः
सितातपत्रो प्रतिपक्ष राज्यभाक् ।
अकालवर्षो हतभूप राजको
बभूव राजर्षिरशेष पुण्यकृत् ॥'[10]

Being prejudiced against the Kalyana Chalukya claims of the Ayodhya connection of the Vatapi house, Bhandarkar took the first quarter of the second verse to mean 'elevated by means of incontestable throne and chowries' and lost sight, in that process, of the clear reference therein to the 'throne of Ayodhya.' The above quotation from the Sanjan plates is the earliest and definitely pre-Kalyana-Chalukyan admission of the connection of the ancestors of the Vatapi rulers with far off Ayodhya. The as yet unproven claim made in the Kalyana Chalukya copper plates that Jayasimha I had defeated a certain Indra of the Rashtrakuta family[11] and the known historical facts pertaining to the fields of activity of the early rulers of the Vatapi house suggest that the Chalukyas had moved into Karnataka *via* Gujarat and Maharashtra. The absence of any reference to their connections with Ayodhya in the Vatapi

10 *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 243–44, verses 10 and 11.

11 *Ibid.*, XII, p. 151, verse,.

Chalukya inscriptions themselves may be attributed to their fear that, in the wake of their claim to belong to such a far off place, they may not be easily accepted in their newly acquired territories in the south. Again, before long, they lost their alien identity and became one with the Kannadigas even as the Eastern Chalukyas, before long, became one with the Andhras.

Though, during the time of Pulakesin I, the Chalukyas, for the first time, settled down in Karnataka with his founding of the capital city of Vatapi, his sway, as far as Karnataka was concerned, was limited to its northern extremes. He does not appear to have moved south enough even to come into conflict with the Banavasi Kadambas who were still masters of a considerable part of Karnataka. Pulakesin I's title *Maharaja* also proves beyond doubt that he had no pretensions to imperial status.

Thus at the time of Kirttivarman's accession at Vatapi in 566/67 A.D., major portions of Karnataka, under the Kadambas of Banavasi, the Gangas of Talakad, the Alupas of Alvakheda, the Nalas of Nalavadi and the Mauryas of Konkana, were enjoying independent status. It was Kirttivarman I who subjugated all these independent powers and thus earned for the Chalukyas imperial status in Karnataka. His subjugation of the Kadamba, Maurya and Nala kings is mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II (नळ मौर्य कदंब काळरात्रिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव कीर्तिवर्मा[12]) while his triumph over the Gangas and Alupas finds mention in the Mahakuta pillar inscription of Mangalesa.[13] Thus, in final assessment, it would become clear that though the Chalukyas had established contacts with Karnataka even during the time of Pulakesin I, who is known to have founded the city of Vatapi in 543 A.D.,[14] they became imperial masters of Karnataka only in the second half of the sixth century A.D., during the eventful reign of Kirttivarman I.

Keeping in view their claim of direct descent from the Vatapi house, the Kalyana Chalukyas, in their inscriptions, take care to describe the fall of the Chalukyas during the reign of Kirttivarman II as a temporary eclipse—

'येन चालुक्य राज्यश्रीरन्तरायिण्यभूद्भुवि'[15]

By the usage of the expression *antarayini*, they mean to say that the imperial greatness of the Chalukyas was temporarily made invisible by Rashtrakuta interposition. Accordingly they claim figuratively that even as Vishnu in the form of the Varaha retrieved the earth submerged by the demons, so also Taila II retrieved the

[12] *Ibid*, VI, pp. 4-5, verse 9.
[13] *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 17, Text, line 7.
[14] *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 4–9.
[15] *Ibid.*, XII, p 152, verse 19.

splendour of the Chalukyas which had been eclipsed by the Rashtrakutas—

'इत्थं पुरा दितिसुतैरिव भूतधात्रीं
यो राष्ट्रकूट कुटिलैर्गमितामधस्तात् ।
उद्धृत्य माधव इवादिवराहरूपो
बभ्रे चलुक्यकुल वल्लभ राजलक्ष्मीम् ॥'[16]

The Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta

The Rashtrakutas, who supplanted the Chalukyas of Vatapi as the imperial masters of the Deccan in the second half of the 8th century A.D., claim to belong to the Yadu-vamsa[17], a claim usually dismissed by historians as one more attempt at 'deriving puranic pedigrees.' However, a close scrutiny of the pre-Manyakheta history of the Rashtrakutas does throw some interesting light on the problem. It is, for instance, claimed by the Rashtrakutas that Indra II, the father of Dantidurga, had obtained the hands of the daughter of the Chalukya king by the *rakshasa* form of marriage after waging a battle for her at Khetaka-mandapa—

'इन्द्रराजस्ततोऽगृह्णाद्यश्चालुक्यनृपात्मजां ।
राक्षसेन विवाहेन रणे खेटकमण्डपे ॥'[18]

Khetaka is the same as modern Kaira in north Gujarat and the Chalukya ruler referred to apparently belonged to the Gujarat-Chalukya branch. This clearly shows that the Rashtrakutas, prior to their appearance further south, were active in Gujarat. And this must have given rise to the claim that they belonged to Yadu-vamsa which is, from time immemorial, associated with Gujarat.

In all probability, the Rashtrakutas established their earliest contact, of an inimical nature, with the Vatapi Chalukyas only during the time of Dantidurga. Prior to this, in order that their designs on Karnataka may materialise, they had moved south and had established themselves at the township of Lattalur in Osmanabad district, on the periphery of the Chalukyan empire. Dantidurga claims imperial status for himself by virtue of his victory over Vallabha i.e. the Vatapi Chalukya ruler—

'यो वल्लभं सपदि दंडबलेन जित्वा
राजाधिराज परमेश्वरतामुपैति ॥'[19]

Even his was a mere raid into Karnataka and he still had his moorings outside. As a matter of fact, the Rashtrakuta claim that

16 *Ibid.*, verse 28.

17 See, for instance, *Ibid.*, IV, p. 282, verse 5.

18 *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 243, verse 7.

19 *Ibid.*, VI, p 210, verse 6.

in defeating Kirttivarman II, Dantidurga routed the Karnataka army, itself clearly shows that Dantidurga did not claim to belong to Karnataka—

'कांचीश केरल नराधिप चोलपांड्य
श्रीहर्ष वज्रट विभेद विधानदक्षं ।
कर्णाटकं बलमजेयमनंतरथ्यैः
भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥'[20]

On the other hand, it was his successor Krishna I who finally destroyed the power of irttivarman II and gained for his family imperial status in Karnataka—

'यश्चालुक्यकुलादनूनविबुधव्राताश्रयो वारिधेः
लक्ष्मीं मन्दरवत्सलीलमचिरदाकृष्टवान्वल्लभः ।'[21]

'पालिध्वजावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि
राजाधिराज परमेश्वरतां ततान'[22]

But, as shown by the provenance of his inscriptions, Krishna I appears to have gained effective control only over the northern parts of Karnataka. His son and successor Dhruva or Dhora and his son Govinda III were mainly responsible for the spread of Rashtrakuta sway over Karnataka and it was during their reigns that the Rashtrakutas developed inalienable identity with the Kannadigas. Nevertheless, it was only during the time of Amoghavarsha I that the Rashtrakutas finally came to settle down in Karnataka with his founding of the capital city of Manyakheta in all imperial glory—

'तत्सूनुरानतनृपो नृपतुंगदेवः
सोऽभूत्ससैन्यभट भंगुरितादिराजः ।
यो मान्यखेटममरेन्द्रपुरोपहासि
गीर्वाणगर्वमिव खर्वयितुं व्यधत्त ।।'[23]

Nripatunga thus becomes the first Rashtrakuta ruler to set up his home in Karnataka in the ninth cetury A.D., decades after Vatapi had ceased to be the hub of Karnataka's imperial might.

Like the Chalukyas of Vatapi who preceded them and the Chalukyas of Kalyana who succeeded them, the Rashtrakutas too flourished as a ruling house for roughly two centuries during which period they steadily wore themselves out. Kalyana Chalukya

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20 *Ibid.*, verse 5.
21 *Ibid.*, p. 243, verse 3.
22 *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89, verse 13.
23 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 283, verse 13.

prasastis credit Taila II with the rout of the Rashtrakuta family which had thus become worn out in course of time—

'कालाःखंडित राष्ट्रकूटक कुल'[24]

a thoughtful phrase in which the entire gamut of Indian political philosophy finds succinct expression.

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[24] *Ibid.*, XII, p. 152. verse 27.

16

The Early Sendrakas of Karnataka

G. S. GAI

THE Sendrakas in ancient Karnataka appear first as feudatory chiefs of the early Kadambas and then of the Chalukyas of Badami. During the period of the latter dynasty, a branch of these Sendrakas was established in Gujarat and Khandesh in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. Another family was ruling, in the latter half of the 7th century A.D., in the Kurnool area of Andhra Pradesh. It is, however, difficult to establish the exact relationship between these families in the present state of our knowledge. It is also not possible to give a connected account of the chiefs who ruled in ancient Karnataka itself. It is proposed to present the available information about them in this article.

The original home of the Sendrakas of Karnataka appears to be in the Banavasi province, in the area known as Nayarakhanda or Nagarakhanda which comprised parts of the present Shimoga District in Karnataka State. Their territory is mentioned as Sendraka-rajya or Sendraka-vishaya in the inscriptions. The earliest reference to the Sendrakas is found in the Chandravalli rock inscription[1] of Mayurasarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty in Karnataka. This epigraph, which is assigned to about the 4th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, is written in Brahmi script and Prakrit language and seems to refer to the defeat, by Mayurasarman, of the Sayindaka, along with Traikuta, Abhira, Pallava, Pariyatraka, Sakasthana, Punnata and Maukhari. Sayindaka in this inscription represents Sendraka, though no ruler of this period is known to us. The Sakrepatna plates[2] of the Pallava king Simhavarman II of the early Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters and assigned to the 5th century A.D. registers the grant of the royal privileges in the Valvilli *agrahara* situated in Sendraka-rajya (i.e. modern Shimoga District). The Halmidi inscription[3] of Kadambapa-Kakusthabhatara, belonging to the latter half of the 5th century A.D., refers to a Sendraka ruler, whose name is not mentioned, as having fought with the Pallavas. But the first name

[1] *MAR.*, 1929, p. 50.

[2] *AR. Ep.*, 1966-67, No. A 11.

[3] *MAR.*, 1936, 72 ff.

of the Sendraka ruler known to us so far is that of Bhanusakti who is mentioned in the Halsi plates[4] of the Kadamba king Harivarman (c. 519-30 A.D.). This inscription registers the grant of the village Marade by the Kadamba ruler at the request of Bhanusakti who is described as the glory of the family of the Sendrakas. Bhanusakti was evidently a feudatory chief of the Kadamba king. The Bennur plates[5] of the Kadamba king Krishnavarman II (c. 530-40 A.D.) record a gift of land in the village called Palmadi which was situated in Sendraka-vishaya.

The Gokak plates[6] of the early Rashtrakuta king Dejja-Maharaja dated in the year 845 of the Aguptayika era or 532-33 A.D. refer to *Adhiraja* Indrananda, son of Vijayananda-Madhyamaraja of the Sendraka family, as the donor of the grant mentioned in the epigraph. But we do not know where this family was ruling at this time as the feudatories of the early Rashtrakutas.

Ravisakti, son of Kannasakti who belonged to Phanikula and who was the lord of the Sendrakas, figures as the donor in the Huli plates of the Chalukya king Mangalaraja or Mangalesa (596-609 A.D.).[2] It is in this record that we get for the first time the connection of the Sendraka chief[7] with Phanikuia or Nagavamsa. The relationship between Kannasakti and his son Ravisakti with the earlier member Bhanusakti mentioned above is not known. We learn from the Chiplun plates[8] of Pulikesin II (609-42 A.D.) that the king's maternal uncle was Sendraka Srivallabha-Senanandaraja. This shows that Kirtivarman I (566-96 A.D.), father of Pulikesin II, married a Sendraka princess and that the Chalukyas of Badami had matrimonial relationship with the Sendrakas. Srivallabha Senananda-raja is referred to in the inscription as *parama-mahesvarah* i.e. the devout worshipper of the god Mahesvara. The name Senananda reminds us of the names Indrananda and Vijayananda mentioned in the Gokak plates of Dejja-Maharaja referred to above.

On a rocky wall at Badami in the Bijapur District are carved the names of individuals or places or descriptive labels. Among the

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 31-32.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, V, p. 594.

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, pp. 289 ff.

[7] *Journ. Karn. Uni.* (*Soc. Sc.*), V, pp. 175-81. A certain Kannasattiarasa (i.e. Kannasakti-arasa) is mentioned in an undated stone inscription of about the 7th century A.D., from Aralihonda in Dharwar District, belonging to the reign of Pittiamman whose identity is uncertain. The name Kannasakti suggests that he might have belonged to the Sendraka family and, if so, we do not know how he was connected with Kannasakti of the Huli plates.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 50 ff. A spurious grant of Pulikesin, I, (c. 540–65 A.D.), father of Mangalisa, mentions the Sendraka ruler Rundranilagonda, his son Sivara and grandson Samiyara who was ruling over the Kuhundi-vishaya i.e. the modern Belgaum area.

names of individual persons, we come across one Bhimasakti (also written as Bhimasatti) engraved at four places in characters of about the 7th century A.D.[9] One of them speaks of him as belonging to the Sendraka family while another describes him as devoted to the pair of feet of the illustrious Satyasraya who may be identified with Pulikesin II.

An undated inscription[10] from Siruguppi in Hubli Taluk of Dharwar District, in characters of about the 6th-7th century A.D., refers to Vanasatti–arasa as governing Mulungunda and mentions also a Kundassatti–arasa. From their names, Vanasatti i.e., Vanasakti or Banasakti and Kundasatti i.e. Kundasakti appear to belong to the Sendraka family, though we are not in a position to establish their relationship with any other known Sendraka rulers.

A stone inscription[11] from Lakshmesvar, in characters of about the 11th century, but purporting to belong to the Chalukyas of Badami is in the nature of a copy of a copper-plate grant and refers to Durgasakti, son of Kundasakti and grandson of Vijayasakti of the Sendraka family as a feudatory of Pulikesin II.

A Sendraka ruler called sri-Pogilli-Sendraka-Maharaja was governing Nayarakhanda (i.e. Nagarakhanda), a division of Banavase 12,000 province, according to the undated Balagamve stone inscription[12] of the Chalukya king Vinayaditya (682-96 A.D.).

The Ainuli plates[13] of Chalukya Kirtivarman II dated in 749 A.D. record the gift of a village at the request of Nagasakti, described as an ornament of the Sendraka race. And lastly an undated inscription[14] ascribed to the reign of this Kirtivarman II refers to a certain Madhavattiyarasa. This name seems to represent Madhavasatti or Madhavasakti-arasa and indicates that he was in all probability a Sendraka ruler.

Thus we get several names of the Sendraka chiefs during the period of the early Kadambas, Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas; but it is difficult to establish the relationship between them in the present state of our knowledge.

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[9] *SII.*, XV, Nos. 417, 441–43 and *ARSIE.*, 1928–29, App. E (B.K.) Nos. 101, 125–27.

[10] *ARSIE.*, 1933–34, App. E (B.K.) No. 32.

[11] *SII.*, XX, No. 3 and introduction, pp. vii–viii.

[12] *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 142ff.

[13] *MAR.*, 1909, pp. 12–14.

[14] *KI.*, I, pp. 4–8.

More Light on Early Chalukyan History

MADHAV N. KATTI

An inscription[1] from Aralihonda, Dharwar District, Mysore State, recently discovered, brings to light a hitherto unknown fact that during the 7th century A.D., a king by name Pattiamman (ಪಿಟ್ಟಅಮ್ಮನ್) held sway over this area as a sovereign ruler. This Kannada record, which may be assigned on palaeographical grounds[2] to the middle of the 7th century A.D., registers a grant of land, stated to be the gift (*datti*) of Kannasakti-arasa by Ereva Konnereyangal.[3] It refers to the rule of Pittiamman.

The statement that the gift of Kannasakti-arasa was given by Konnereyangal may be interpreted in two ways—(1) Konnereyangal made over a grant of land on behalf of Kannasakti-arasa as his (Kannasakti's) officer; (2) Konnereyangal confirmed the grant earlier made by Kannasakti-arasa. The first of these interpretations would indicate that the latter was functioning as a feudatory of Pittiamman while Konnereyangal was an officer under Kannasakti-arasa. If we take the second interpretation as correct, it would indicate that at the time of the record Kannasakti-arasa was not alive or at least was not functioning as a feudatory of Pittiamman.

We hear of this Pittiamman for the first time through this inscription. The fact that Pittiamman is referred to as ruling over the earth (*Prithvi-rajya*) points out to his status as an independent ruler. The inscription does not state to which family he belonged. Nor is he associated with any of the imperial titles.

It is a well known fact that during the 7th century, this area

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[1] This was copied by me for the first time in course of my epigraphical survey of Kalghatgi Taluk, Dharwar District and is registered as *AREp.*, 1965–66, B. No. 377. I am thankful to Dr. G. S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India for kindly deputing me to conduct the epigraphical survey referred to above.

[2] *AREp.*, 1965–66, p. 11.

[3] The term *ereva* means administering and the letter *re* (ರೆ) is used here in place *re* ಱೆ which for instance is used in the word *Konnereya* (*Kon-ereya*). The term *ereya* means 'a master' *i.e.*, a chief (*Vide Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary*, revised edition, 1968, p. 590). *Ereva* Konnereyangal means Konnereyangal who was administering *i.e.*, who was a chief. The name of the donee is not mentioned in the inscription.

came under the sway of the Chalukyas of Badami. The only time when there was no regular sovereign ruler of this dynasty during the 7th century was between A.D. 642 and 654/55 *i.e.* after the death of Pulakesin II and before his son Vikramaditya I reestablished the Chalukya kingdom. This period of about thirteen years was full of crisis when the feudatories of the empire and even two sons of Pulakesin declared their independence. Hence there are two possibilities. (1) He was one of the feudatories of the Chalukyas who declared independence during this period of crisis. (2) Otherwise, either he is an already known prince with an alternate name Pittiamman or a hitherto unknown prince of the Chalukya family. The name *Pittiamman* is obviously an alternate form of a Sanskrit term. It may owe its derivation to *Prithvi* (>*Pitti*) –*varman* (<*amman*).[4] We know that a number of Chalukyan kings had their names ending in *varman* like Kirti-varman, Indra-varman, Jayasimha-varman, Aditya-varman, etc. In case *Pittiamman* was the alternate name of an already known king or prince of the Chalukyan dynasty, it may be either of Pulakesin II himself or one of his sons. Though remote, there is yet another possibility. It is that this person was the son of Mangalesa to whom the latter wanted to pass on the kingdom. In the period of crisis this chief might have declared independence. But as long as we do not have definite information, it is safe to regard Pittiamman as a new king who ruled independently over a part of the Chalukyan kingdom in the middle of the 7th century, more possibly during the period of crisis *i.e.* between A.D. 642 and 654/55.[5]

Kannasakti–arasa is evidently a chief of the Sendraka family as his name ending in *sakti* indicates and we come across a number of these chiefs during this period.[6] It is known well that they (*i.e.* the Sendraka chiefs) were the loyal feudatories of the Chalukyas.[7] As stated above, it is not possible to say whether Kannasakti–arasa was alive at the time of our record or not. In case he was alive it means

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[4] For instance, we can see that the Pandyas and Alupas had many common names and it is interesting to note that the name *Maramma* (*Mara+amma*) of a ninth century Alupa ruler is the same as the well known Pandyan name Maravarman.

[5] There is also a Pittama of the Silahara family. But it is difficult to take him into consideration for the identification of an Pittiamman of our record at the present state of our knowledge as the former (*i.e.*, Silahara Pittama) has not left any records and scholars have taken him as a ruler of the 8th century (*vide* Dr. G. S. Gai, *SII.*, XX, p. xxi and No. 71 and Dr. P. B. Desai, *Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, pp. 65ff.) I am indebted to Dr. S. H. Ritti for enlightening me on Silahara Pittama.

[6] See for instance Kundasakti, Durgasakti, Vijayasakti (*SII.*, XX, pp. vii and viii), Nikumballasakti (J. F. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part II, p. 360), Kannasakti and Ravisakti (*Huli plates of Mangalaraja*, *Journ. Karn. Uni.*, *Social Sciences*, V, pp. 177ff.). See also *Ep. nd.*, XXXVII, p. 334.

[7] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 361 and *Journ. Karn. Uni.*, Soc. Sc., V, p. 180.

he was a feudatory of Pittiamman and this strengthens the point that Pittiamman was of the Chalukyan stock, as the Sendraka chiefs, being the faithful feudatories of the Chalukyas, would not have easily shifted their allegiance to an overlord not belonging to this (Chalukyan) dynasty. If Kannasakti–arasa was not alive at the time of our record, to what period can we reasonably assign him? A set of copper plates recently discovered at Huli (Belgaum District) and belonging to the reign of Mangalaraja[2] *i.e* Chalukya Mangalesa, refers to a Kannasakti of the Sendraka family as the father of Ravisakti who was the donor of the grant stipulated in these plates. Kannasakti-arasa of our record may have been the same as Kannasakti referred to in the Huli plates and in that case it can be said that Konnereyangal confirmed the same grant, during the reign of Pittiamman, which was earlier made by this Kannasakti. However, if it is taken that Kannasakti-arasa was alive at the time of our record, it would mean that he was a feudatory of Pittiamman. He may not be the same as the one mentioned in the Huli plates, since he would be too old by the time of our record.[9] In that case it is more probable that Kannasakti-arasa of our record was different from the one referred to in the Huli plates. We can also suggest that Ravisakti of the Huli plates had a son by name Kannasakti who may have been a feudatory under Pittiamman. Future discoveries alone can throw more light on this problem.

From the nature of the record it becomes clear that Konnereyangal was a chieftain, probably administering the area around the findspot of the record.

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[2] *Journ. Karn. Uni., Soc. Sc.* V, pp. 177ff.

[9] This is because Ravisakti the son of Kannasakti mentioned in the Huli plates is old enough to be the donor of the grant. Even if we take the Huli plates as belonging to the last year of the reign of Mangalesa (*i.e.* 609–10 A.D.), our record would be later than that by about thirty-two years.

18

A Note on the Genealogy of the Seunas

SHRINIVAS RITTI

THE genealogy of the Seunas, especially, the early part of it, is an unsettled problem. When Fleet and Bhandarkar wrote the history of this dynasty, they constructed the genealogy on the basis of data available to them.[1] Subsequent writers like Altekar[2] have almost followed these savants in this respect. Recent writers on Seuna history[3] have tried to restudy the problem but some points remain as yet unexplained. An attempt is made in the following pages to study this problem afresh and make some suggestions on the basis of the available material.

The legendary part of the genealogy is found in the *Rajaprasasti* portion of the *Vratakhanda* part of the *Chaturvarga-chintamani* of Hemadri and also in a few copper-plate inscriptions.[4] We need not go into these details.

Bhandarkar begins his account of this family with Subahu.[5] Fleet also does the same, but he is not certain about his historicity.[6] Katare follows Fleet in this respect[7], but Deoras omits him altogether.[8] The Methi inscription of 1254 A.D.[9] begins the account with Vajra and mentions his successor as Dridhaprahara.

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[1] *Bombay Gazetter*, I, pt. ii, pp. 511 ff; *Collected works of Bhandarkar*, III.

[2] The Yadavas of Devagiri in *Early History of the Deccan*, (Ed. Yazdani). Pt. ii.

[3] Two books on the Seunas have appeared in recent years.

(i) O. P. Varma, *Yadavas and their Times*, Vidarbha Samsodhana Mandala, Nagapur (1970).

(ii) A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Sevunas of Devagiri*, Rao & Raghavan, Mysore (1971).

The Problem of Seuna genealogy has been studied by S. L. Katare, *JIH.*, XXX and Deoras (*Indica*). See also Y. A. Raikar, *Yadavas of Sevunadesa* (*Journal of the Maharaja Sayyaji Rao University of Baroda*, Humanities Number XIV, No. 1, April, 1965, pp. 93 ff).

[4] See, for instance, Sangamner plates (*Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 217 ff.); Kalegaon plates (*Ibid.*, XXXI, pp. 31 ff.) and Paithan plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, pp. 214 ff).

[5] *Collected works*, p. 187.

[6] *Op. Cit.*, p. 512.

[7] *JIH.*, XXX, p. 111.

[8] *Indica*, p. 84.

[9] *Ep. Ind.*, XXVIII, pp. 312 ff.

Hemadri also mentions Vajra, who was followed in succession by Pratibahu, Subahu and then by Dridhaprahara. None of the early inscriptions, however, makes mention of Vajra, Pratibahu or Subahu.

Dridhaprahara figures in the Devalali, Bassein and Asvi epigraphs of 1052, 1062 and 1092 A.D., respectively.[10] The genealogical texts of all these inscriptions are identical. But he is not mentioned in the two earliest records of the family, viz., Sangamner and Kalas Budruk plates[11] which begin their genealogy with Seunachandra I, stated to be the son of Dridhaprahara, by Hemadri as well as in the Devalali, Bassein and Asvi plates and the Methi inscription. The proper history of the Seunas may therefore be said to begin from Seunachandra I.

The four members who followed Seunachandra in succession are Dhadiyappa, his son Bhillama I, his son Rajugi and Rajugi's son Vaddiga. All our sources are unanimous so far as this information is concerned.

Next in succession came Bhillama II, son of Vaddiga. But our sources are not unanimous on this point. The Kalas Budruk, Devalali, Bassein and Asvi plates contain this information. But the Sangamner plates skip over this fact and the Methi inscription only hints at it. The Kalegaon and Paithan plates omit both Bhillama and his predecessor. Hemadri introduces Dhadiyama in between Vaddiga and Bhillama II.

These conflicting accounts have given rise to certain speculations. Bhandarkar thinks that Dhadiyama was another son of Vaddiga and that his name is omitted in the records 'probably because he was only collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line'. Katare who seems to agree with this view expresses the possibility of a 'palace revolution in which Vaddiga was overthrown by Dhadiyama' and the latter, by Bhillama. Deoras, who also takes Dhadiyama to be a collateral and 'the eldest son' of Vaddiga observes: "It is likely that Dhadiyama turned traitor and joined hands with Taila II in overthrowing the Rashtrakutas. For this, Taila may have rewarded him with more territory in the present Ahmednagar district."

It is indeed difficult to support these theories since nowhere in the epigraphical records or in Hemadri's account, is there any suggestion or hint of either a palace revolution or of Dhadiyama turning traitor. Nor is there evidence to support Katare's presumption that Bhillama overthrew Dhadiyama. The verse in the Kalas Budruk epigraph, on which Katare bases his surmise, does not

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[10] *Ibid.*, XXXVII; *Ind. Ant.*, XX, pp. 119 ff. and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 249 ff. respectively.

[11] For the Kalas Budruk plates, see, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII pp. 170 ff.

contain even a remote allusion to such a position. It simply states that Bhillama was born of Vaddiga, 'as Moon is born out of the ocean'. The title *Sangramarama* enjoyed by Bhillama cannot be construed to imply that he fought with Dhadiyama, as it is quite a common and general title. Further, it is difficult to concur with Katare that Bhillama II was the brother of Dhadiyama. Hemadri states that Dhadiyama was born after Vadugi (*Jajne Dhadiyamastatah*). It would, therefore, be reasonable to assume that Dhadiyama was the younger brother of Vadugi or Vaddiga. The next statement of Hemadri viz., तस्माद्‌ाविरभूद्भिल्लमः (to him was born Bhillama) means normally that Billama was born to the immediately preceding person, i.e., Dhadiyama. But the epigraphical records are very clear about the fact of Bhillama II being the son of Vaddiga. Bhillama II married Lachchiyavva or Lakshmi, the daughter of Jhanja.[12] He was succeeded by his son Vesugi, variously called Vesuka, Tesuka and Vesuki. He married Nayiyaladevi, the daughter of Goggi who is described as a feudatory chief of the Chalukya family.[13]

According to Hemadri, Vesugi was followed by Arjuna and Raja, and he purports to say that Arjuna was born of Vesugi and was succeeded by Raja. Next to him is mentioned Bhillama III. The relation between these three is not clearly stated in Hemadri's account. The epigraphical sources, however, do not agree with Hemadri. The Kalas Budruk and Devalali plates clearly state that Vesugi was succeeded by his son Bhillama III and these records belong to the latter ruler himself. It is impossible that these contemporary records would omit the names of Arjuna and Raja, if they really were Bhillama's immediate predecessors.[14] On the authority of the above contemporary records, the statements of which are corroborated by others like the Asvi and Methi records, it would be proper to assume that the successor of Vesugi was Bhillama III only. Bhillama III married Avvaladevi, the daughter of Chalukya Jagadekamalla Jayasimha II.[15]

After Bhillama III, there is a gap in the genealogical accounts given by inscriptions. The Bassein and Asvi plates mention Seunachandra who is simply stated to have been born in that (i.e., Bhillama's) family. These epigraphs are clear that Seunachandra was not the immediate successor of Bhillama III. Hemadri, however, seems to fill this gap by introducing between these two,

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[12] Kalas Budruk and other plates.

[13] Devalali and other plates.

[14] Bhandarkar's explanation is that (*Collected Works*, p. 142). Arjuna mentioned here is Arjuna the Pandava with whom Vesugi is compared. He does not notice the other name Raja.

[15] Devalali and other plates.

three persons named Vadugi, Vesugi, and Bhillama. It appears that after Bhillama III, the succession went to members who were not directly connected with the main line. The Bassein and Asvi plates state that Seunachandra, of the family of Bhillama (i.e. Bhillama III), 'lifted up the *rajya* (kingdom) just as the three worlds were lifted up by the god Hari in the form of a boar, after the death of Bhillama'. The latter part of the Devalali charter, which introduces Seunachandra, throws more light on this point. It states that he lifted up his own kingdom (*svakam rashtram*) which was being drowned on account of the usurpation (*vipralumpitam*) by the rival kinsmen (*dayadin*). This seems to indicate that, after Bhillama III, the succession went to the *dayadins* and Seunachandra regained it from them. The word *svakam* shows that he was the rightful claimant of the rulership.

Of the three names after Bhillama III enumerated by Hemadri, Vadugi is stated to be the son of Bhillama III (स वाडुगिः स्वाडुगिरां कवीनां स्तोत्रैकपात्रं भवतिस्म तस्मात्) and Seunachandra, we know, could not be his son. In the absence of any other evidence, it may tentatively be surmised as follows: Vadugi (i.e. Vaddiga II), son of Bhillama III, had a brother named Vesugi (i.e. Vesugi II). Vesugi's son was Bhillama IV. Seunachandra was probably the son of Vaddiga II. After the death of Bhillama III, the succession seems to have gone to his second son Vesugi II, probably because Vaddiga II died a premature death and Seunachandra was too young to succeed him. After Vesugi II, his son Bhillama IV might have forcibly occupied the throne though the rightful heir to it was Seunachandra, who must have come of age by then. So Seunachandra must have recovered the throne by his might from Bhillama IV who was his *dayadin*. The expression स्वर्गं गते भिल्लमे used in this context indicates that Bhillama IV lost his life in the fight.

Seunachandra II had two sons, Airammadeva and Simharaja. This Simharaja may be identified with Singhana of the Kalegaon and Paithan plates and Seunadeva of the Gadag[16] and Anjaneri[17] inscriptions on chronological grounds. He may be called Singhana I.

All the authorities state that Singhana I was succeeded by his son Mallugi I. This Mallugi had two sons. One of them was Amaragangeya or Amaraganga and the other, Karna, according to the Gadag inscription mentioned above. But the latter was Mallugi or Amaramallugi according to the Dharwar plates of Singhana II[18] and Hemadri's account. The Methi inscription places Krishna

[16] *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 21 ff.

[17] *Ind. Ant.*, XII. pp. 126 ff.

[18] *Ep. Ind.*, XXXIV, pp. 32 ff. Here the relation between Amaragangeya and Mallugi is not specified.

after Mallugi I. Thus Karna of the Gadag inscription can be equated with Krishna of the Methi record.

Both the Gadag and Methi inscriptions further state that this Karna or Krishna was succeeded by Bhillama V who, according to the Gadag inscription, was the son of Karna. But there are other records which state that Bhillama V was the son of Mallugi, in which case, Karna or Krishna will have to be equated with Mallugi. As Mallugi and Krishna are disconnected and independent names, it would be queer to identify the one with the other. But we can justify this identity if we understand the position properly. In conformity with the practice of sometimes calling a son after his father, it is likely, he was fondly called Mallugi also. This might have given currency to two different traditions which find mention in epigraphical records. As for the variant Karna for Krishna, it appears to have been a colloquial error, noted in other cases also.[19]

According to Hemadri, however, Bhillama V was the son of Mallugi I and brother of Amaramallugi. This relation follows from his description of Bhillama V as the junior uncle (*pitrivya*) of Kaliyaballala who was the son and successor of Amaramallugi. Such discrepancies in names as betrayed by different records have to to be attributed to divergent genealogical traditions resulting from the lack of correct information.

To avoid the above discrepancy, the editors of the Dharwar plates have suggested an emendation to Hemadri's text and surmise that Bhillama V was the junior uncle of Kaliyaballala's son and therefore he was the brother of Kaliyaballala. They also suggest that the correct form of the name Amaramallugi might be Aparamallugi, indicating that he was Mallugi II.[20] This discussion may be summed up thus: Mallugi I had two sons, Amaragangeya and Amara(Apara)mallugi i.e. Mallugi II. The latter also bore, according to variant genealogical traditions, the names Karna and Krishna. He had two sons, Kaliyaballala and Bhillama V. Kaliyaballala had a son, whose name, however, is not known.

Hemadri mentions one more predecessor of Kaliyaballala viz., Govindaraja, who appears to have been the son of Amaragangeya.

All the sources agree that Bhillama V was succeeded by his son Jaitugi (i.e. Jaitugl I)[21] and the latter by his son Singhana II. Singhana II also had a son by name Jaitugi (i.e. Jaitugi II). Jaitugi had two sons, Kannara and Mahadeva. The former is variously mentioned as Kannara, Kandhara and, in one or two records,

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[19] For instance Kalachuri Bijjala's son was known both as Krishna and Karna. See P. B. Desai, *Basavesvara and His Times*, p. 20.

[20] *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[21] Two Inscriptions from Hirekogilur, *Ep. Carn.*, VII. Ci. 21 and 22 wrongly place Bhillama after Jaitugi.

Kanhadeva, All these are derived from the original name Krishna. Two inscriptions from Hirekogiluru in Shimoga District mention Sarangapani and Mahadeva as two sons of Singhana. Here, apparently they omit Jaitugi, the son of Singhana. Again, Sarangapani may easily be identified with Krishna or Kannara.[22] Kannara and Mahadeva had one son each, named Ramachandra and Amana[23] respectively,

Ramachandra, it seems, had more than one son. But unfortunately, epigraphical evidence is not forthcoming in this respect and the other sources—the Muslim chronicles and early Marathi literary works—are not clear on this point. It is generally taken by Fleet, Bhandarkar and other early historians that Ramachandra's son was called Sankara. Nilakanta Sastri calls him Sangama.[24] Venkataramanayya metions him as Bhillama.[25] But it has been rightly shown that the name was not Sankara but Singhana and that he had a brother named Bhillama.[26]

The Marathi sources give conflicting accounts. The *Bhanuvijaya*, for instance, states that Ramachandra had three sons, Sankara, Ballala and Bimba. According to this work, Ballala did not tolerate Sankara becoming king. So Ramachandra partitioned the kingdom and sent Ballala to Trikalinga. The *Mahakavati Bakhar*, on the other hand, states that he had four sons, viz., Sankara Kesava, Bimba and Pratapasa. It adds that Sankara and Kesava were placed at Devagiri, while Bimba was governing Udayagiri and Pratapasa was in Alanda. But these versions seem to be very unreliable, particularly the statement that the country was divided and that Ballala was placed in Trikalinga. Trikalinga, i.e., the Andhra country, was under the Kakatiyas and no part of that territory was under the Seunas during the time of Ramachandra. Until more conclusive evidence comes forth, it is safer to surmise that Ramachandra had only two sons, Singhana (i.e. Singhana III) and Bhillama (i.e. Bhillama VI). He appears to have had a daughter who was given in marriage to Haripaladeva. Her name, however, is not known.

An inscription discovered by the present author at a locality known as Dhababawdi in the Dhulia District of Maharashtra State[27]

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[22] Narasimha Murthy states (*op. cit.*, p. 103) that Singhana had two sons, Jaitugi and Sarangapani. He further surmises that Sarangapani left for the Kakatiya kingdom following his fight with Kamara, and settled there as the feudatory of the Kakatiyas. This surmise is based on an inscription from Pangal which mentions Singhana and Sarangapani. It is obivious that these two princes belong to a different family and not to the main Seuna line.

[23] Paithan plates, *op. cit.*

[24] *History of South India*, p. 207.

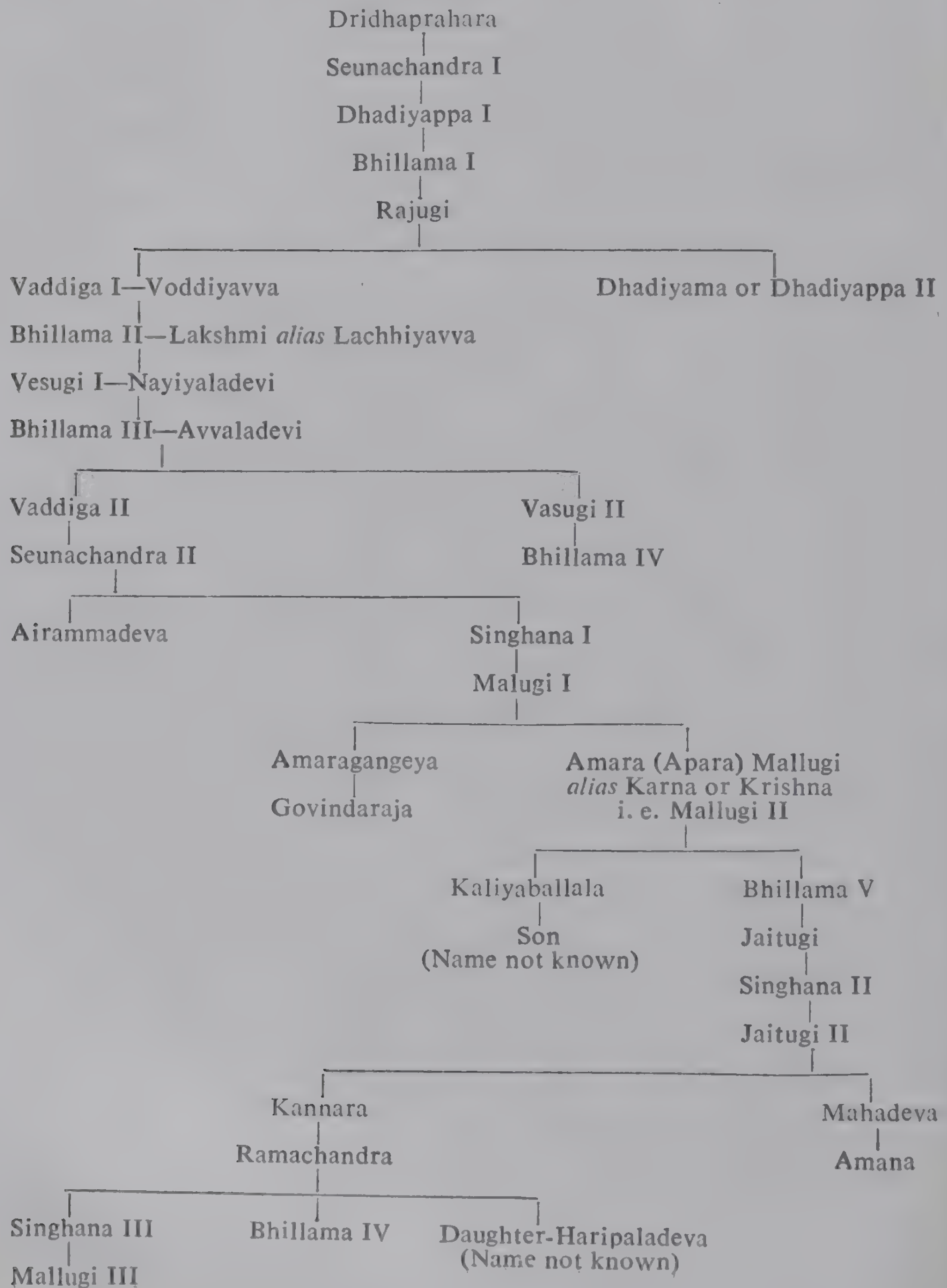
[25] *Early Muslim Expansion in South India*, p. 15.

[26] R. C. Mujumdar (Ed)., *The Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 48–49.

[27] *ARIE.*, B. No, 744.

carries the genealogy one step further. Referring itself to the reign of *Suratana* Mahamanda, the record mentions a Melugideva, son of Singhanadeva. The palaeography and the cyclic year Srimukha mentioned in the record, help us in ascribing it to 1333-34 A.D. and in identifying *Suratana* Mahamanda with Sultan Mohammad-bin-Tughalaq. On chronological and other considerations, this Singhanadeva can be identified with Singhana III, the son of Ramachandra. Singhana's son Melugi of the record will, therefore, be Mallugi III who is the last known member of the family,

The genealogy as discussed above is shown below in tabular form:



19

Tonnur—Its Importance in the History of Karnataka

R. VASANTHA

Tonnur is in Pandavapura Taluk of the Mandya District and a place of considerable antiquity. It is situated at the southern foot of the Melkote hills, about 10 miles north-west of Srirangapatnam and about 2 miles to the west of the main road from Pandavapura to Nagamangala.

Importance: Tonnur has played a great role in the history of Karnataka after the advent of Ramanuja to Mysore in the 12th century A.D. Though the place is now a deserted area, it is important from the historical, religious and artistic points of view. It was one of the provincial capitals of Hoysala Vishnuvardhana in the 12th century A.D., and some of the ruins of the monuments of that period are to be seen now. The tradition that Ramanuja stayed for a few years at Tonnur accounts for the celebrity of the place as a centre of pilgrimage and it is also a place of considerable artistic interest with its temples dating from the times of the Hoysalas.

The place is referred to in inscriptions as Yadavapura[1], Yadavanarayana-chaturvedimangalam[2] and Tondanur.[3] Tonnur is a corruption of the full form Tondanur. The Hoysalas claim to have belonged to the Yadu vamsa[4] and the name Yadavapura is after their race.

History: The history of Tonnur begins with the rule of the Hoysalas. The inscriptions found in Tonnur are considerable in number, ranging upto thirty-one. Two inscriptions belong to the period of Vishnuvardhana, eleven to the period of Narasimha I, twelve are of the period of Ballala II and the remaining six are undated inscriptions.

Tonnur prior to Vishnuvardhana: An inscription found in Srirangapatnam Taluk[5], probably of 1120 A.D., records that Vishnuvardhana made a grant to the god Tuvvalesvara which his *avve*

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 43; My. 16; *MAR*, 1932, pp. 189.
[2] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 76; XIV, Sr. 244 and Sr. 235.
[3] *Ibid.*, XIV, Sr. 230, Sr. 152, Sr. 61.
[4] *Ibid.*, VI, Kl. 22.
[5] *Ibid.*, III, Sr. 43.

Madalamahadevi[6] had installed at Yadavapura. It is clear from this inscription that the place was well known as Yadavapura before the time of Vishnuvardhana. But, now, no temple of Tuvvalesvara exists.

Vishnuvardhana: Vishnuvardhana had made Tonnur as his residence in 1128 A.D. An inscription found near the Chamundi hill states that Vishnuvardhana made a grant to the Marbbalatirtha while in his royal residence at Yadavapura.[7] Another inscription in Chikkamagalur Taluk, probably of 1125 A.D., also records the residence of Vishnuvardhana at Yadavapura.[8]

An inscription found on the *mantapa*[9] in front of the Lakshmidevi shrine in the Lakshminarayana temple[10] at Tonnur records that it was constructed by *Heggade* Suragiya Nagayya as per the orders of the king Vishnuvardhana. The inscription is dated by scholars to 1120 A.D.

A few of the Tamil inscriptions in the Lakshminarayana temple at Tonnur belong to the period of Vishnuvardhana. One of the records mentions one Tiruvarangadasar[11], who, in an inscription of Narasimha I at the Krishna temple, calls himself a disciple of Ilaiyalvan[12] (Ramanuja). This reference to Ramanuja in an inscription confirms the traditional account of his visit to Tonnur. The tradition[13] states that Tonnur was the capital of the Hoysalas and that it was here that Ramanuja met Vishnuvardhana and converted him to Vaishnavism.

The above inscriptions clearly say that Vishnuvardhana had his residence at Yadavapura in 1128 A.D. The following lines[14] (174-78) of the inscription of 1122 A.D. also tell us that Ramanuja lived for sometime at Tonnur, in the Hoysala-desa, which was ruled by Vishnuvardhana:

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[6] Scholars are of the opinion that Ereyanga had two queens, namely Echaladevi (Ng. 28 and 30) and Mahadevi, a Chola princess (Ak. 102). But the present inscription (Sr. 43) shows that Ereyanga had one more queen by name Madalamahadevi.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, III, My. 16.

[8] *MAR.*, 1932, p. 189.

[9] *Ep. Carn.*, XIV, Sr. 232.

[10] In the year 1116 A.D., Vishnuvardhana defeated Adiyama, the Chola governor of Talakad and in the next year, 1117 A.D., he constructed several temples for Vishnu in various parts of the realm. Of these the Vijayanarayana temple at Belur, the Lakshminarayana temple at Tonnur and the Kirttinarayana temple at Talakad bear his inscriptions—*MAR.*, 1932, p. 3.

[11] *Ep. Carn.*, XIV, Sr. 235.

[12] Ilaiyalvan was the name of Ramanujacharya before he became a *Sannyasi.*

[13] *Guruparamparaparabhavam*; edited by Anantacharya, p. 76.

[14] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 64.

स देशो यादवगिरेर्दक्षिणे त्वर्धयोजने ।
रम्यो होयसळदेशाख्यस्सर्वकालसुखप्रदः ॥
तत्रस्था यादवपुरी विष्णुवर्धनपालिता ।
श्रीरामानुजपादाब्जपरागैः पावनीकृता ॥

It is stated in the inscription, Srirangapatnam 232, that a portion of the Lakshminarayana temple at Tonnur was built in about 1120 A.D., by the order of Vishnuvardhana. Another inscription[15] tells us that even so late as 1189 A.D., two famous generals were stationed at Yadavagiri (Melkote) to guard the fort, thus showing that this part of the kingdom was guarded as an important outpost even in the time of Ballala II. Therefore, it may be concluded that Tonnur continued to be the royal residence of the Hoysalas for some years at least. Thetraditional[16] date of Ramanuja's visit to Tonnur, namely, the year of B.hudhanya corresponding to 1099 A.D., does not fall within the reign of Vishnuvardhana. Either there must be some mistake about the date or Vishnuvardhana might have taken his residence at Tonnur when his brother Ballala I was on the throne.

Narasimha I: The Krishna temple at Tonnur was built during the reign of Narasimha I in 1158 A.D., by Kuttandi Dandanayaka.[17] The Kailasesvara temple was also built in the same reign but a few years earlier than the Krishna temple. Two inscriptions in the Krishna temple, probably of 1162 A.D., record grants to the temple by the great minister *Heggade* Damanna[18] and by Tiruvarangadasar[19], a disciple of Ilaiyalvan. Tiruvarangadasar appears to have been an important personage as his name occurs in other inscriptions also in connection with grants made to the temples by officers under Ballala II.

Ballala II: Of the inscriptions at Tonnur, one records a grant in 1175 A.D.[20], by *Mahapradhana, Sarvadhikari, Dandadadhishthayaka, Mahapasayata, Hiriya Heggade* Machayya in company with *Heggade* Kesiyanna and *Heggade* Komanna to the Lakshminarayana temple at Tonnur. Another grant by the same Machayya along with *Heggade* Kesiyanna, *Heggade* Komanna and *Heggade* Mahadevanna is given in 1167 A.D., to the Vitrirunda Perumal (Krishna) at Tonnur. A third grant[22] is given to the god Varadaraja of Conjeevaram by *Srikaranada* Kaliyana, who is said to have purchased the lands

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15 *Ep. Carn.*, XIV, Sr. 152.

16 *Guruparamparaprabhavam*, edited by Anantacharya, p. 77.

17 *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr. 62.

18 *Ibid.*, XIV, Sr. 234.

19 *Ibid.*, Sr. 235.

20 *Ibid.*, Sr. 223.

21 *Ibid.*, Sr. 233.

22 *Ibid.*, Sr. 224.

granted by him from the *Heggade* Ereyanna. There is another grant[23] given to the Vitrirunda Perumal in c. 1175 A.D., by *Nayaka Heggade* Maranna by the orders of the *Mahapradhana, Heggade* Suragiya Nagayya. In some of the Tamil inscriptions, which may belong to the reign of Ballala II, though the name of the king is not mentioned, Uttamanambi[24], Tirunaraiyurdasar[25], who is described as the singer of Tiruvaymoli, Gomatattu Iramapiran[26], Kulashekaradasar[27] and Ilaiyapiran Tittan[28] figure as the donors. Several of these names were borne by the immediate disciples[29] of Ramanujacharya and it may perhaps be persumed that some of the donors mentioned in the inscriptions were their grandsons. In one of the inscriptions a grant[30] of 50 *gadyanas* is made by Tirunaraiyurdasar and Gomatattu Iramapiran for white-washing the *mantapa* of Viraballala, apparently a *mantapa* caused to be built by him.

Ballala III : Due to the invasion of Muslims in 1327 A.D., Dorasamudra, the Hoysala capital, fell into disintegration. According to Rice[31], after the capture of Dorasamudra, Ballala III retired to Tonnur which continued to be the seat of government for about fifty years. But, there is no distinct proof for this and we find Ballala III living at Tiruvannamalai during this period, i.e., 1330, 1331, 1333, 1339, 1340 and 1342.[32]

After the period of Ballala II, no inscription is found at Tonnur except one belonging to the reign of Haidar Ali. Even though there is scarcity of epigraphical sources after the Hoysalas, it can be inferred, from the style of architecture, that the Vijayanagara and Mysore kings had also taken a role in the history of Tonnur by constructing *mukhamandapa, patalankana, kalyanamandapa* etc., to the temples at Tonnur.

Haidar Ali : An inscription of 1722 A.D., found at Krishnarajapet Taluk[33] records the grant of a village Chattamagere by Krishnaraja Vodeyar II of Mysore to Haidar Ali for 219 pagodas, in order that Haidar Ali might present it to the tomb of Salar Masud Khadri[34] at Tonnur to provide for feeding the poor.

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23 *Ibid.*, Sr. 61.
24 *Ibid.*, Sr. 229.
25 *Ibid.*, Sr. 228.
26 *Ibid.*,
27 *Ibid.*, Sr. 230.
28 *Ibid.*, Sr. 246.
29 *Guruparamparaprabhavam*, edited by Ananthacharya, p. 82.
30 *Ep. Carn.*, XIV, Sr. 228.
31 Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, Introduction, p. 79 ; *Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer*, II, p. 298.
32 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Ak. 66 ; *Ibid.*, IX, Nl. 9 ; *Ibid.*, XII, Gb. 30, Ht. 43, Dv. 21.
33 *Ibid.*, IV, Kr. 18 and 20.
34 About a furlong south-west of Tonnur, there stands a Darga on a small

Temples : Of the four temples[35] existing in Tonnur, the Lakshminarayana temple was built during the period of Vishnuvardhana. The Krishna and Kailasesvara temples were constructed in the days of Hoysala Narasimha I (c. 1158 A.D.,) and the temple of Narasimha also might have been built during the reign of Narasimha I.

Lakshminarayana Temple : The original temple consisted of a *garbhagriha,* a vestibule and *navaranga.* The main image of Vishnu as Narayana, which is about 6′ high, stands on a Garuda pedestal under a *padma* ceiling, holding in four hands *sankha, padma, gada* and *chakra.* The *prabhavali* and the image are of one piece.

A Gajalakshmi panel is on the vestibule doorway. The lathe-turned and finely polished soap-stone pillars in the *navaranga* have close resemblance with the central pillars of the Belur hall.

Deeply cut cornices, the right-angled pilasters and niches are found on the outer walls of the main shrine. The turrets over the niches are pyramidal in their outline and have tapering vertical bands which are typical of the Belur turrets.

The *vimana* over the main shrine, the *mukhamantapa* which has fifty pillars of the cylindrical type, the *patalankana* which has fifty pillars of the octagonal type and the *mahadvara* are later structures, probably of the Vijayanagara and Early Mysore periods.

The Lakshmi shrine which stands in the outer *prakara* had also been constructed in the days of the Hoysalas as it bears an inscription of Vishnuvardhana.

Krishna Temple : The *garbhagriha,* the vestibule and the *rangamantapa* appear to be the earliest structures. The *rangamantapa* consists of sixteen cylindrical pillars of granite. The outer walls of the *garbhagriha* and vestibule have octagonal cornices, square pilasters and niches which are similar in some respects to those of the Ranganatha temple at Srirangapatnam. The cornices have ornamental *kirtimukhas* and are surmounted by a row of sea-horses. The *vimana* is constructed with large bricks and is octagonal, having four niches projecting forward as in some Chola structures.

The image of Vishnu-Krishna is seated in the centre in *sukhasana* with his hands thus disposed : *abhaya, chakra, sankha* in three hands, the front left hand resting on the thigh. The two consorts, Rukmini and Satyabhama, stand on either side of Krishna.

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hillock constructed by Sayyed Salar Masud Sahib. Its date is written there as 760 Hizri or 1358 A.D. The Darga has a simple hall supported by four plain pillars. Around the hall runs a verandah with sixteen-fluted pillars, which bear figures of Hindu gods such as Hanuman etc. The two tombs which are found near the Darga are said to be of the relatives of Tippu Sultan.

[35] *MAR,* 1939.

The large *navaranga* hall having sixteen fluted pilasters, the porch in front of it, the inner wall of the outer *prakara*, appear to have been built in the days of Ballala II. The *vasanta-mantapa*, the *mastikal* and the large door-frame about 18′ high are also of the Hoysala period.

The metal images of Krishna, Rukmini and Satyabhama belong to the early or middle Vijayanagara period. The figures of Rukmini and Satyabhama stand in *tribhanga* pose. Krishna stands as Gopalakrishna with flute in his hand.

Narasimha Temple: Tradition connects this temple with Ramanujacharya though there is no historical proof for this. The temple is a small structure of the Hoysala-Dravidian school. The main deity is Narasimha in the attitude of *yoga*.

A plaster relievo of Ramanuja is kept at the north-east corner of the *navaranga*.[36] The image is seated in *padmasana* with a seven-hooded cobra over its head. Tradition accepts this as a contemporary image of Ramanuja. But it is possibly a later piece.

Kailasesvara Temple: The temple is now in a dilapidated condition. A dark linga about $2\frac{1}{2}'$ high is found in the *garbhagriha*. Several inscriptions belonging to the Hoysala period are found on the cornices and slabs.

Moti Talab: This tank is said to have been constructed at the orders of Ramanujacharya and named Tirumalasagara. An inscription of 1150 A.D., found at Krishnarajapet Taluk[37] refers to this tank as Yadavasamudra and local tradition also states that the original bund was constructed in the days of the Hoysalas. So, it is possibly a construction of the period of Vishnuvardhana. Pieces of stones containing fragmentary inscriptions of about the Chalukya and Hoysala times, many sculptured pieces, cornices, stone fragments that were once parts of temples are found to have been used for the construction of the steps of the tank. These support the tradition that the original bund was repaired in the times of Tippu Sultan. The tank is fedby Talekere Halla or Hebbahalla which takes its origin at Narayana Durga, the chief feeder to the tank. Nasir Jung, son of a subedar of the Deccan, who was at Tonnur in 1746 A.D., gave it the name of Moti Talab.

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[36] It is believed that in this place, Ramanuja held disputations with Jainas.
[37] *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Kr. 14.

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Shahji in Karnataka

B. MUDDACHARI

THE entry of the Marathas in Karnatak affairs is an event of great significance in the history of South India. The breakdown of the Vijayanagar empire, which had stood as a great bulwark against the advancing tides of Muslim invasions for more than two and a half centuries, was just a prelude to most of the enterprising chieftains of the south to assert their independence. Among those that rose into prominence in the seventeenth century were the Marathas and the rulers of Mysore.

Shahji (1594-1664), son of Maloji Bhonsle, father of the great Shivaji, laid the firm foundation for the rise of the Maratha power in Karnatak. His rise in Karnatak like that of many other great men was as much due to his energy, enterprise and perseverance as to the opportunities which presented themselves in the seventeenth century.

Bijapur, which is now a district of the Mysore state, was a powerful.Shahi kingdom in the 17th century. Bijapur and Golkonda began to take keen interest in the affairs of South India. A partition treaty was signed in 1636 between Shahjahan, the Mughal emperor and the two sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, according to which the latter could extend their schemes of conquest only to the south. It was after this arrangement, Shahji went over to the side of the Bijapur Sultan and his entry coincided with the Bijapur activities in Karnatak.[1]

Muhammad Adil Shah of Bijapur (1626-1656) sent a second expedition to Karnatak under Ranadulla Khan with Shahji as the second in command for the conquest of the Karnatak countries, particularly Mysore. It was in this expedition that Shahji stepped on the soil of Mysore. Being second in command of the Bijapur army, he could influence his army chief and see that things would move in the right direction. The other Maratha generals who accompanied the expedition were Vedoji, Raghava Pandit, Siddoji and Kannoji. With these generals, according to *to Chikkadevaraya Vamsavali*, Ranadulla Khan set out with an army of 40,000

[1] For details see B. Muddachari : *The Mysore-Maratha relations in the 17th century*—Introduction.

horse, 40 elephants and 10,000 foot. In December, 1638, Bangalore was seized. Shutting himself up in the fort of Bangalore, Kempegowda, its ruler, prolonged the fight for some days but was finally overwhelmed by the besiegers.[2] In this connection Paramananda, author of *Shiva Bharata* says- "The Rajah of Bingrool (Bangalore) was expert in the art of fighting and after a bold stand lasting for many days, he surrendered the fort of Bingrool." The war came to a close by the conclusion of a treaty in which Shahji played a leading role as a mediator. Kempegowda was sent to Magadi with his family and followers and Bangalore was handed over to Shahji as per his desire. Govinda Vaidya says: "with the permission of the sultan of Bijapur, Ranadulla Khan gave Bangalore to Shahji and marched on with political programme (i.e., conquest Srirangapatna).[3]

The acquisition of Bangalore in December 1638 was an important landmark because from 1638 till 1684 under Shahji Bangalore remained a principal centre of the Maratha activities in Mysore. Shahji found sufficient opportunities in Bangalore to build up his career and carve out an independent principality of his own since, in course of time, the influence of the Bijapur government over the distant possessions declined. Shahji, "the cleverest and the most ambitious" man that he was, turned Bangalore into a convenient military base for his future operations against Kanthirava Narasaraja Wodeyar of Mysore (1638-59).

In January 1639 the Bijapur army laid siege to the fort of Srirangapatna. Shahji, Vedoji and Raghava Pandit actively participated in this campaign by commanding independent battalions under them. The Kannada sources, literary and epigraphic, throw a flood of light on the siege of the Srirangapatna fort by the Bijapuris. The siege was raised and a treaty was signed between Ranadulla Khan and Kanthirava Narasaraja on 21st January 1639.[4] With this the stage was set for both Kanthirava and Shahji to play their vital role in Karnatak politics.

In 1640 the Sultan of Bijapur organised the *third* Karnatak expedition for several reasons.[5] Shahji moved from Bangalore with an army and assisted Ranadulla Khan in the conquest of several Karnatak territories including those of Kanthirava Narasaraja. As a result of this expedition several important places like Doddaballapura, Tumkur, Kunigal, Chikkanayakanahalli and Ramagiridurga were left in charge of Shahji.

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[2] *Kanthirava Narasaraja Vijayam* (KNV), XI, vs. 58, 59, 90.

[3] *Ibid.*, XI, v. 66.

[4] KNV, XIV, XV, XVI; *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family*, I, pp. 72–76; *Ep. Carn.*, III (i) NJ, 198, Sr. 103; *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, II, pp. 90–100.

[5] See *The Mysore-Maratha Relations in the 17th Century*, pp. 19–20.

The fourth Karnataka expedition was fitted out under the generalship of Mustafa Khan and the fifth one under the leadership of Vedoji. These two expeditions ended in failure excepting the re-occupation of Turuvekere. Consequently, three distinct settlements could be seen, one at Bangalore under Shahji, another at Turuvekere under Afzal Khan and still another at Basavapatna under Murtuza Baig. Among these three generals, Shahji enjoyed large power, having control over all the Karnatak territories.[6]

In the conflict between Mysore and Bijapur, the Marathas gained too many advantages. Shahji enjoyed the confidence of the Bijapur Sultan and was particularly friendly with Ranadulla Khan. As Bangalore and Bijapur were far from each other in those days of difficult communication, it is no wonder if Shahji assumed a tone of independence and royal splendour. Several sources throw welcome light on the grandeur of the Maratha court established by Shahji at Bangalore. Paramananda says : Shahji took the delightful place, Bangalore from Kempegowda which was presented to him for his own maintenance by Ranadulla Khan.[7]

Bangalore, grew to be a prosperous city under the Kempegowda family. The fort gates and the big towers in the four quarters of the city and several tanks inside the city were the objects of great attrac tion. Temples dedicated to Shiva, Parvati, Vishnu and Dharmaray added to its beauty. A record compiled in 1803 mentions: "Being pleadse with thes ight of Bangalore, the security of its fortress and the salubrity of its climate, Shahji made up his mind to fix his head-quarters there."[9] The fort was repaired and provided with a strong artillery. Under the care and efficient administration of Shahji it became the principal centre of Maratha culture. Doddaballapura and Kolar rose into provinces during this period. On certain occasions, when not engaged in military expeditions, Shahji used to stay either in Doddaballapur or Kolar. Nandi was his summer residence.[10] The Palace which he built was named "Gowri Mahal" and the popular version is that it was in the present Basavanagudi extension of Bangalore city. His court was adorned with poets, musicians and saints. Having heard the fame of Shahji and the patronage he extended to men of learning at his court, Jayaram Pindye, the author *Radha-Madhava-Vilasa Champu* and *Parnala-Parvata-Grahan-Akhyanam*, went all the way from Nasik to Bangalore and, through a man named Shivaraya Gosvamin, was introduced to

[6] Annals, I, pp. 85–86, *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali*, pp. 37–38; *Mysuru Doregala Purvabhyudaya Vivara*, I, p. 66.

[7] *Shiva Bharat*, IX, 43.

[8] S. K. Narasimhaiah, *The Founder of Bangalore*, II and III.

[9] *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, II, p. 67.

[10] Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 22.

Shahji at his court. Shahji received the poet warmly, exchanged greetings and for a while was perplexed when the poet placed before him twelve coconuts. On learning that the poet could compose poems in twelve languages, Shahji felt relieved. He encouraged both Sanskrit and Marathi. Eminent poets like Malhari Bhatta, Naropant Hanumanthe and others flourished at his court. Naropant Hanumanthe and his two sons, Janardanapant and Raghunath panth were well-known personalities of the time. Prabhakara Bhatta was his royal chaplain.

Shahji was a great administrator. He imported many Maratha families from Maharashtra and employed Marathas in the administration. He was required to please both his subjects and sovereign at the same time. The love and confidence that he earned was so much that the Sultan in one of his letters addressed him as "our Shahji Bhonsle, the pillar of our state."[11] Thus he remained loyal to the Sultan of Bijapur.

Shahji had the privilege of meeting his wife, Jijabai, son Shivaji and the tutor, Dadaji Kondedev at Bangalore. In accordance with the wishes of his wife, Shahji celebrated the marriage of Shivaji with Saibai Nimbalkar on a grand scale and formally bestowed on him the Poona *jagir*. Jijabai was glad at this and, having visited a number of holy places in the Karnatak, she returned to Poona with the newly wedded couple and her party.[12]

Shahji was not destined to enjoy peace at Bangalore for a long time. He came into conflict with Mysore in 1642. Mysore was not reconciled to the existence of a miniature Maharashtra in Karnataka with Bangalore as its capital. In May 1642 Nanjarajaiya, the Dalvoy of Mysore, routed the army of Afzal Khan and occupied his strong military base, Turuvekere. This was followed by the reduction of Anebagur.[13] Shahji could not save Afzal Khan because his military equipment was inadequate to meet the situation. This event showed that Shahji was to be very careful in dealing with Kanthirava Narasaraja.

In 1644 Shahji opposed Kanthirava Narasaraja in alliance with Narasimha Nayak of Holenarasipur. Murtuza Baig and Shahji were the principal generals who co-operated with the chief of Holenarasipur against Mysore at the head of an army consisting of good horse. But the combined armies were defeated and dispersed by Nanjarajaiya.[14] The hostility was terminated by the conclusion of a treaty according to which Narasimha Nayaka retained his princi-

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[11] J. N. Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, p. 78.

[12] J. N. Sarkar, *Shivaji and his Times*, Vth edition, p. 22.

[13] KNV, XI, v. 66; Annals I, pp. 69 and 88; *Mysuru Doregala Vamsavali*, pp. 38–40; *Chikkadevaraja Vijayam*, II, 138.

[14] *Ibid.*, XI, XII, XIV, and XVIII.

pality by paying all the arrears of tribute due to Mysore. This event shows that Shahji did not remain an idle and unconcerned spectator in the drama staged by Kanthirava and that he used all possible means at his disposal to check the progress of the latter by making alliance with such a power as would oppose Mysore. This event further strengthened the resolution of Shahji to put down Kanthirava at an appropriate time.

The year 1645 witnessed a war between Kanthirava Narasaraja and Nanjundaraja of Piriyapatna. The latter chieftain sought the assistance of Shahji against Mysore. Shahji, Vedoji and other Bijapur generals advanced at the head of 8000 horse, 15000 foot and finally encamped at Bettadapura near Periyapatna. The army of Ikkeri too joined Shahji. From there the combined armies marched and reinforced the Periyapatna army. In January 1645, the fortress of Periyapatna was besieged by the Mysore army. The siege was protracted for nearly ten months, upto October 1645. Kanthirava won a brilliant victory over the allies. Periyapatna was incorporated into the kingdom of Mysore on 7th October 1645. In the light of the contemporary Kannada sources, it is difficult to agree with J. N. Sarkar's view that Shahji remained idle during the period between 1644 and 1646. Zahur, the author of *Muhammad Nama*, on whom Sarkar relied, was not able to gather correct information regarding Shahji's activities in Karnatak during this period and, therefore, omitted to mention Shahji's deeds in his work.[15]

The deteriorating political situation in the Karnatak and the reverses that the Maratha generals suffered at the hands of the ruler of Mysore again, led to the Bijapur aggression. In June 1646 an expedition was fitted out under the leadership of Mustafa Khan. Shahji and Asad Khan who were expected to co-operate with the Bijapur generals in their Karnatak adventures, joined the Bijapur army at Honnali near Basavapatna. The Bijapur expedition was directed against three powers, Kanthirava, Shivappa Nayak and Sriranga Raya. Shahjit ook part in the battles against all these three. Shivappa Nayak of Ikkeri meekly submitted to the enemy and extended his helping hand when Mysore resisted the invaders. In January 1647, Mysore won a victory but its army chief, Nanjarajaiya was killed. The defeat of the Bijapur army was a terrible blow to the Maratha interests in Mysore.[16] But it must be remembered that Shahji was just building up his power at Bangalore with limited resources and, as such, he was not able to help the Bijapuris in defeating Mysore.

Being frustrated in their second objective of humbling Kanthirava, Mustafa Khan and Shahji turned their attention to their

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[15] B. Muddachari, *Mysore-Maratha Relations in the 17th century*, pp. 28–29.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 30–32.

next objective, namely that of dealing with Sriranga Raya. When Mustafa Khan arrived at Shivaganga in Bangalore District, Sriranga Raya, the last ruler of the decadent Vijayanagara empire, sent his envoy, Venkayya Somayaji, with peace terms to purchase the retreat of Mustafa Khan. Shahji, with the real desire of serving the cause of Vijayanagara, mediated and pressed his army chief to accept the terms of treaty of Somayaji. But the disloyal conduct of the Nayaks of Madura, Tanjore and Gingee spoiled the entire atmosphere of mutual accommodation and goodwill. They intrigued and brought about the war between the Bijapuris and Sriranga Raya. But for Shahji, the reconciliation between Mustafa Khan and Somayaji would have been impossible. By the bad counsel of the envoy, Sriranga Raya turned down the mediation of Shahji and went to war against the Bijapuris. Shahji regretted for what had happened.[17]

On 12 January 1648, at the instance of the Bijapur Sultan, Mustafa Khan marched on his last Karnatak expedition. Shahji was ordered to accompany him. Along with Shahji, Siddi Raihan and other nobles, Mustafa Khan reached Gingee. To the bewilderment of the southern powers, Mustafa entered into an alliance with the Golkonda general who was already there with the idea of besieging the fortress of Gingee. The Golkonda general withdrew his forces. At once Shahji proceeded and conquered in one day the forts of Jangama and Trincomali. It was during the siege of Gingee that Shahji was arrested and put in fetters on 25 July 1648.[18]

According to the Kannada source, the arrest of Shahji was due to Shivaji's aggression in Maharashtra. The Bijapur Sultan thought that if Shahji were arrested, his son would behave better.[19] But things did not move according to his expectations. A compromise was effected between the Sultan and Shahji whereupon the former called Shahji to his presence, honoured him with the role of a minister and set him at liberty on 16 May 1649.[20] Shahji returned to Karnatak and remained in Raichur making Kanakagiri his headquarters. Now Shahji was in possession of four *Jagirs*, one was the *Jagir* in Maharashtra, the second was Bangalore, the third was Jagadeva Raya's country and the last one was Kanakagiri. With these territories Shahji could indeed count himself a great Maratha leader.

The Mysore-Maratha relations were thoroughly embittered in 1658 when war broke out between Shahji and Mummadi Kempegowda of Magadi (1658-78). Ever since the acquisition of Hebbur in 1650 by Mysore, Mummadi Kempegowda had remained an intimate ally of

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 32–34, 138–139.

[18] Bertrand, *La Mission Du Madure*, III, pp. 42–46.

[19] *Keladi Nripa Vijayam*, IX, 150-151.

[20] *Shiva Bharat*, XIII and XIV.

Kanthirava. Mummadi Kempegowda had not forgotten the loss of Bangalore. The existence of the miniature Maratha court at Bangalore under Shahji was an additional humiliation to him. Intent upon retaking Bangalore in alliance with Kanthirava, Kempegowda declared war against Shahji, and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. Ekambara Dixit, the court poet of Mummadi Kempegowda, who relates this event, does not mention more details relating to the war between the two powers than this defeat.[21] Some mutual understanding must be assumed to have been entered into between the two parties sometime in 1658. In July 1659 Kanthirava Narasaraja died. His death removed from the scene of action an important ruler. Shahji heaved a sigh of relief. For twenty years (1639-1659) Shahji and Kanthirava had fought with each other almost frequently. There existed no occasion for them to improve their relations. Shahji co-operated with ever Bijapur general who led an expedition against Karnatak and foughty against Kanthirava with varying success. Kanthirava on the other hand resisted every time with all the power and resources at his disposal. Both of them tried to overpower each other but none of them succeeded in the venture. On the whole the Mysore-Maratha relations during the time of Kanthirava did not improve.

Kanthirava Narasaraja was succeeded by Doddadevaraja Wodeyar (1659-1673). At the time of his accession Shahji was in Madura. Shahji and Mulla Muhammad, as desired by their overlord, had marched with an army and conquered Tanjore. Muthu Virappa Nayak of Madura was threatened. Mannarkovil and Vannam fell into their hands. A severe famine broke out. This made them withdraw from the Madura region accommodating matters with the Nayaks.[22]

For three years (1660-1662), Shahji did not interfere in the affairs of either Bednur or Mysore, because from 1660 to 1661 he was in Gingee to break up the combination formed by Chokkanatha with the object of re-establishing "the ancient king of Bisnagar (Vijayanagar) in his country, to give Gingee to its Nayak and thus to remove the evils that had resulted from the mistaken policy of Tirumala Nayak."[23] In 1661 Shahji succeeded in conquering the forts of Tegnapatam (Cuddalore) and Porto Nova and in 1662 he went to Poona in order to bring about reconciliation between his son, Shivaji and the Bijapur Sultan. Towards the end of 1662 Shahji returned to Bangalore.

Shahji practically had no rest towards the end of his life in the Karnatak. He fought two more battles, one with the ruler of

21 *Virabhadra Vijaya Champu.*

22 *La Mission Du Madure*, III, 50–51.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Ikkeri in which he won a victory, the second with the ruler of Mysore in which he suffered reverses. Shahji bought off the enemy by paying a small sum of money. After an eventful career of 26 years in Karnatak Shahji passed away in 1664 at Hodigere in Shimoga district.

Shahji's fame has been overshadowed by that of his son, Shivaji. It is true that Shivaji had created an enduring edifice of a kingdom as big as Great Britain. But the achievements of his father in Karnatak cannot be ignored. Shahji had already built a Maratha kingdom in Karnatak long before Shivaji dreamt of Maharashtra. The effects of his work in Bangalore could be seen even today after centuries of change, in the existence of several Maratha vestiges.

21

Mysore and the Confederacy of 1780

B. SHEIK ALI

A powerful Confederacy, such as had never been seen before, of the Indian powers came into being towards the close of the year 1779. The confederates, Nana, the Nizam, Sindhia, Bhosle and Haidar, agreed to attack all the presidencies of the English. Nana and Sindhia were to take Bombay, Bhosle whould invade Bengal, the Nizam would seize the Sarkars and Haidar would attack the Carnatic. It is interesting to enquire, who formed this Confederacy, and what was the role of Mysore in it.

Who took the leading part in the formation of the Confederacy is a controversial question. Among the Confederates, Nana, Sindhia, the Nizam, Haidar and Mudaji Bhosle, the last could easily be excluded, for he was on the most cordial terms with Hastings even after joining the Confederacy. Concerning the rest, various views are held. Sardesai makes Nana the mainspring of the grand alliance.[1] Professor Sinha thinks that it was on Haidar's initiative that Nana formed the Confederacy.[2] The Nizam himself claimed that he was the author, and his claim was accepted both by Warren Hastings and Philip Francis.[3] But none of these views seems to represent what really had happened.

There is no doubt that the Nizam had some justification for his bold assertion that he played the leading role, but that was in the early stages, and not in the actual formation of the confederacy. As early as April 1778, Thomas Rumbold, the Governor of Madras, wrote to Hasrings that the Nizam had ordered his commander, Fazal-Baig Khan, to proceed to Poona with a body of troops for the purpose of assisting the Marathas.[4] In June 1778 the Nizam wrote to Madras that if the English were to persist in their support of Raghunath Rao, the Nizam would be compelled to assist the Peshwa by virtue of the treaty subsisting between the two

1 G. S. Sardesai, *New History of the Marathas*, Vol. III, pp. 94–5.

2 N. K. Sinha, *Haidar Ali*, pp. 176–8.

3 Hastings to the Court, 2 Dec. 1780, *Sixth Report by the Committee of Secrecy*, 1781, Appendix No. 328, p. 923.

4 Rumbold to Hastings, 25 April 1778, Add. Mss. 29, 140, pp. 314–5.

powers.[5] The Nizam wrote to Bengal also in the same tone expressing the same desire of assisting the Poona ministers. William Farmer, a Bombay civilian, wrote from Poona to William Hornby, the Bombay Governor, that in return for the Nizam's services Nana had promised him certain districts, which Haidar had usurped from the Marathas.[7] These facts show that a union of interests between Nana and the Nizam had already taken place, but there is some difference between vague promises of help and the actual commitment to assist by a formal treaty, which had not yet been envisaged.

Nana assumes leadership of the Confederacy after August 1778 when he wrote to the Nizam, that the Marathas would punish the English in alliance with the French.[8] The Nizam had so long been only talking of concerted measures to oppose the English, but Nana took the first effective step by bringing a third party, the French, into the picture. It must be remembered how important this French intrigue was. But for St. Lubin, the French adventurer, who posed himself as ambassador at Poona, assuring Nana of French aid, and Bellecombi's (the French Governor of Pondicherry) going to Malabar with troops, we doubt very much if Hastings would have made advances to Mudaji, particularly when both Francis and Wheler had opposed the measure.

What was Haidar's role at this time, the middle of 1778 ? He was at war with Nana's party in Poona, and was willing to cooperate with the English in supporting Raghunath Rao's claim to Peshwaship.[9] Haidar made advances both to the Madras and Bombay Governments.[10] His policy did not change until the fall of Pondicherry in October 1778. Till then his and the English policies towards the Marathas were identical. Haidar was as much a supporter of Raghunath Rao's cause as the English were. He had seized the Maratha territories south of the Krishna which had offended the Poona ministers, as also Cuddapah and Kurnool which had offended the Nizam. When the French, the Marathas and the Nizam had openly exhibited hostility against the English, Haidar had given them the greatest assurances of his attachment to them, although this attachment was intended to serve his own interests.

In July 1778 news reached Bengal that hostilities had broken out in Europe. Events moved fast ; the capture of Chandranagar, the despatch of Elliot to Nagpur, the march of Leslie's detachment to Berar, and the fall of Pondicherry, all followed in quick succes-

[5] The Nizam to Madras, 21 June 1778, *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 431.

[6] The Nizam to Bengal, 23 July 1778, *Ibid.*, p. 432.

[7] Farmer to Hornby, 7 May 1778, Add. Mss. 29, 140, pp. 355–57.

[8] Quoted in Hastings to Elliot, 2 Aug. 1778, Add. Mss. 29, 141, p. 214.

[9] Rumbold to Hastings, 25 April 1778, Add. Mss. 29, 140, p. 314.

[10] Cyphered enclosure in Hastings' letter to Elliot, 12 Aug. 1778, Add. Mss. 29, 141, p. 282.

sion. About the same time, July 1778, Nana emerged leader in a series of revolutions at Poona. The Bombay Government resolved to support Raghunath Rao and to conduct him to Poona. In November they sent a detachment to conduct Raghunath Rao to Poona, and Rumbold acquired Guntur, concluding a defensive alliance with Basalat. These events precipitated great diplomatic activity. All the Indian powers were stirred. The Poona Ministers stood in the immediate danger of losing all power. The Nizam's districts in Berar were likely to be seized. Haidar grew restless, for his supply depots of Pondicherry and Guntur were cut off, aud Mahe was about to be taken. Thus all the major powers began to feel that their interests would suffer, if the activities of the company's servants were not stopped.

On learning that a Bombay army was well on its way to Poona, Nana asked the Nizam for aid. Fazal Baig Khan, the Nizam's commander, who was at Poona, but who was not on good terms with his master, informed Mudaji that Nana had offered the Nizam a grant of land in return for his aid. Nizam readily responded to Nana's call, and joined him ; besides, he induced Mudaji to do the same. Disappointing Hastings' high hopes, Mudaji declined to countenance his policy, and refused to co-operate with Goddard. Thus both Nana and the Nizam were active in the field, but the main initiative had come from Poona. The greatest difficulty in the way of a Confederacy was of inducing Mudaji to join it, for Hastings had kept him on his side. Mudaji was really an important member of the Maratha empire unlike Raghunath Rao, who was disliked in all circles, and who had no army, no finance and no state to be of any material help to the Company, until they won a battle for him.

Why did Mudaji decline to accept Hastings' aid ? Hastings had promised him the Peshwaship at Poona. Relations between Mudaji and Hastings had been so cordial that the latter took it for granted that whatever he would propose the former would accept. This did not happen because of the Bombay Government's wrong policy at this time. They espoused Raghunath Rao's cause and actually sent an army to restore him to power. This caused a change in Mudaji who had been promised power at Poona, and who now thought that he was deceived. It was because of Raghunath Rao that Hastings lost Mudaji's support, and it was again because of Raghunath Rao that the Nizam was so hostile the English.

In January 1779 the Bombay Government sent an army to Poona in order to instal Raghunath Rao as Peshwa, but this army suffered a humiliating defeat and was compelled to sign a humiliating Convention at Wodgaon on 11th January 1779. The Convention had a profound effect on Indian powers. It exposed the weakness of one

of the presidencies of the Company. It introduced a new power who was destined to dominate Indian politics for a decade and a half, namely, Mahadaji Sindhia. It was to Sindhia that Raghunath Rao delivered himself up. It was Sindhia who dictated the Convention, and who retained the two English hostages. It was Sindhia's leadership that had won success in the field, and it was he who assumed the chief role in Maratha politics after the Convention. Nana was still powerful, but he was a man of political abilities, like Dupleix, with no military prowess. Sindhia like Haidar was proficient in both, and leadership in those days very often devolved on those who possessed both these talents.

Sindhia's conduct from January to July 1779 was quite strange. He was expected to be highly displeased with Goddard's march to Surat, but he was not displeased. Likewise, Bombay's peremptory repudiation of the Convention was expected to enhance Sindhia's resentment of them, but it did not. Goddard suspected that Sindhia would eventually seek British assistance.[11] Sindhia commanded the largest army, nearly 50,000 cavalry, which excited Nana's jealousy. There were two parties in Poona, Nana and Hari Pant on one side, and Sindhia and Holkar on the other. Thus there had been a shift in the Maratha leadership from Nana to Sindhia, and the Confederacy had not yet come into being.

In June 1779 a dramatic event took place. Raghunath Rao escaped from Sindhia's custody, and fled to Goddard, who gave him protection.[12] Once again the Indian courts at Poona, Hyderabad and Nagpur were electrified with hectic activity. Raghunath Rao had earlier renounced all claims to the Peshwaship and had thrown the insignia of royalty received from the titular Raja of Satara into the Ganges.[13] But that did not prevent him from taking one more chance. It must be remembered that it was from Sindhia's control that he had fled. Sindhia's honour was at stake. The escape added to Nana's jealousy of Sindhia.[14] It looked as if Sindhia would strain every nerve to retrieve his honour. He composed his differences with Nana. Before the escape Sindhia had stood for accommodation, and Nana had defeated his attempts; but after the escape, Sindhia was converted to Nana's views.

Nana made urgent appeals to the Nizam for an alliance. The Nizam once again responded favourably, and exhibited more bad temper on the escape than Nana did. Nana renewed his contact with the French also. Dewagar Pandit, Mudaji's minister, undertook a journey in July from Nagpur to Poona. The fall of Mahe had

[11] Goddard to Hastings, 28 April 1779, Add. Mss. 29, 143, p. 207.
[12] Goddard to Hastings, 2 June 1779, *Ibid.*, pp. 349-50.
[13] Farmer to Oakley, 17 June 1779, Add. Mss. 29, 143, p. 392.
[14] Goddard to Hastings, 12 June 1779, *Ibid.*, p. 386.

incensed Haidar as well. Thus the situation was ripe for a clear understanding among all the Indian powers, Nana, the Nizam, Sindhia, Mudaji and Haidar.

The intense activity of July and August bore fruit in September, when Goddard broke the first news of the formation of Confederacy to Hastings, that Nana and Sindhia had entered into a sealed and written agreement with Haidar, the Nizam and Mudaji to make a general attack upon all the three presidencies. Goddard added that the information he had received seemed to be authentic, for Sindhia had gone from Ujjain to Poona, where Dewagar Pandit and the *Vakils* from the Nizam and Haidar were also present.[15] This news was authentic in all respects except for Haidar's formal inclusion, which took place in February 1780.

Why did Mudaji join the Confederacy? Goddard gives us an explanation, which throws new light on our knowledge of the Confederacy. He wrote to Hastings, "I have been secretly informed that Sindhia advised Nana to gain over Moodajee to their interests by representing how much more it would be for his honour and advantage to connect himself with them who were Marathas than with the English by offering to invest him with the office of *Sinaputta* (*Senapati*), one of the most considerable in the state, and nearly corresponding with that of Buckshy in the Mogul Courts, and to give the vacant dignity of Sahou Raja to Chimna, the Raja's second son. With these splendid and flattering offers and promises of assistance, if Moodajee would raise an army of Thirty Thousand men to attack Bengal, the Dewan was dismissed to his Master".[16] Hastings had promised Mudaji the Peshwaship at Poona, but Sindhia overreached Hastings by promising much more, the post of Commander-in-Chief to Mudaji, and the titular headship of the state to his son, Chimnaji. In those days when power was steadily passing from heads of State to ministers, the office of Commander-in-Chief was certainly much more attractive than the Peshwaship. Whether Sindhia was sincere in this offer cannot be ascertained, but it served the immediate purpose, namely to disengage Mudaji from Hastings and include him in the Confederacy. We give some credit to Goddard's intelligence, for otherwise it is difficult to explain Mudaji's conduct, who, having promised full support to Hastings, disappointed him so much as to join his hostile camp. Sindhia seems to be the main instrument in bringing over Mudaji to the minister's side. Mudaji later wrote to Hastings that it was the Nizam, who had compelled him to join the Confederacy.[17] The

[15] Goddard to Hastings, 29 Sept. 1779, Add. Mss. 29, 144, p. 92.

[16] Goddard to Hastings, 20 Oct. 1779, Add. Mss. 29, 144, p. 92.

[17] Mudaji to Hastings, 19 Jan. 1780, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V, No. 1714, pp. 402–03.

Nizam owned to that fact, and told Hollond that he had threatened Mudaji of an attack, if he did not participate in the Confederacy.[18] But in view of what Goddard wrote to Hastings, the Nizam's bold assertion was a boast, and Mudaji's explanation to Hastings was an excuse to cover up his shortcoming.

Why did the Nizam join the Confederacy ? This is not difficult to explain. He had been consistently opposed to English support of Raghunath Rao. Rumbold's conclusion of an alliance with Basalat, the acquisition of Guntur, the despatch of a force there and the demand for the remission of tribute further alienated the Nizam from the English. Having joined the Confederacy the Nizam did not execute his share of the responsibility, namely an attack on the Sarkars, because Hastings appeased him in time by assuring him that Raghunath Rao's cause would not be supported, that the demand for the remission of tribute would not be pressed, and that Guntur would not be retained. Raghunath Rao recedes into the background from that time and his cause never heard of. This was a wise move on Hastings' part.

Why did Haidar join the Confederacy ? He joined it because the English at Madras had disturbed his relations with the French, who had been supplying him with arms, and not because he was interested in Maratha Politics. He was interested in the problems nearer his home, namely the policy of Madras with respect to Guntur and Mahe and the disturbances on his western coast. Added to these, Haidar's own ambitions had something to do with his participation in the Confederacy. When the Company's Governments were involved in difficulties, he would not miss an opportunity to advance his own interests. A fine opportunity presented itself to advance his interests. When all the presidencies were involved in troubles, when the principal Indian powers had arrayed their forces against them, and when he knew how ill prepared Madras was, his ambitions received a new fillip. When other powers had joined against the company his alliance with Madras or even his neutrality would have been an excuse for his neighbours to destory him later. If such an exigency were to arise, he could rely on none, for his experience of the English policy in his wars against the Marathas was too fresh for him to expect any succour from them. On the other hand if he supported the Indian powers he would gain both their favour and possibly some advantage in the Carnatic. As for his ability to overpower the English army, he trusted in the French support, whose intrigue in every court, whose success in America, and whose promises of the speedy despatch of an expedition to India, removed all doubts, if he had any, of a discomfiture. Moreover, his Indian colleagues had

[18] Hollond to Hastings, 12 Aug. 1780, Add. Mss. 29, 145, pp. 365–7.

promised to engage the English attention in other sectors of the war. The Confederacy at first roused tremendous national sentiments, and Haidar's letter to Basalat Jang's minister betrayed the same sentiments. But knowing Haidar's character as we do, it is too much to expect that any sentiment but that of self-interest would have prompted him to undertake a venture of that magnitude. In short Haidar's desire to become the Nawab of Carnatic was one of the main causes of his joining the Confederacy.

Haidar's part in the formation of the Confederacy was very little. He was rather induced to join it. In the confused politics of the Marathas he was not sure which party, Raghunath Rao or Nana would finally win. He had nothing to gain from either. Left to himself, he would have preferred Raghunath Rao's accession to power. One of the articles of his treaty with the Marathas stated, "In course of the war, should Rogonant Row be taken prisoner, you [Haidar] require him to be given up to you. This, as he is our particular enemy, we cannot agree to, but on knowing your reasons, we will endeavour to accommodate ourselves to them".[19] As late as September 1779 his differences with the Poona Court had not been resolved, for Krishna Rao Ballal, Nana's agent, asked Haidar to join the alliance and to give up his designs on Adoni and Mudagal belonging to Basalat.[20] In January 1780 Nana sent a person, Krishna Rao Joshi to Haidar to settle the outstanding differences and prepare the ground for his entry into the Confederacy.[21] Nana was still demanding a large sum towards the arrears of the *chauth*. The confirmation of the Maratha districts in Haidar's occupation was another difficulty. In February 1780 Haidar sent a person to Nana to adjust his difference with Poona, and a formal treaty was concluded in that month.

Thus it appears that it was neither the Nizam, nor Nana nor Haidar who was the main architect of the Confederacy, but it was Sindhia. All the violent outbursts of the Nizam ever since March 1778 had come to nothing. All the diplomatic skill and shrewdness of Nana had been equally fruitless. But when Sindhia took a keen interest after Raghunath Rao's escape in June 1779 the Confederacy was formed within three months. The idea of a Confederacy might have originated with Nana, but in its execution Sindhia's part was decisive, for Mudaji's inclusion in it, which was the most difficult part of it, was accomplished by Sindhia's interventions. Sindhia

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[19] Articles of a treaty of Alliance between Haidar and the Marathas, *First Report by the Committee of Secrecy*, 1781, Appendix No. 18, pp. 287–8.

[20] Krishna Rao to Haidar, 5 Sept. 1779, Rajvade, *Itihasa Sadhanen*, Vol. 10, No. 235, pp. 164–5.

[21] News from Poona, 13 Jan. 1780, *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. V, No. 1706, p. 399.

worked from behind the scene, and all negotiations were conducted in Nana's name. The escape of Raghunath Rao seems to have been the deciding factor in making Sindhia take an active interest, and in rallying all the Maratha chieftains to the rank of the Poona ministers. Nana's negotiations with Haidar made no progress until Sindhia's influence became more manifest in Poona politics. Sindhia was the person who negotiated an alliance between Haidar and the Marathas.[22] As Nana had been at war with Haidar, it is quite probable that Haidar became more inclined to join the Confederacy only after Sindhia stood guarantee for the faithful implementation of the terms of the alliance, although Guntur, Mahe and Tellicherry counted more with Haidar than Maratha Politics. We lack corroborative evidence to establish Sindhia's role in the Confederacy on a more solid basis, but until that can be done or undone by the availability of more evidence, we regard Sindhia as having played the most vital part in the final stages of the Confederacy.

Haidar's own contribution to the Confederacy was his understanding with the French, which made it more powerful. This understanding was reached by the French initiative. A French man, Piveron de Morlat, who was formerly Procurer General at Pondicherry, resided at his court, and became his friend. The French governor at the Isles of France, De Souillac, an energetic person was anxious to retrieve the French losses in India. He instructed Piveron to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Haidar, by which both parties were to "chastise the English." The Agreement was that the French would send 15,000 to 16,000 troops to the Coromandel coast to co-operate with Haidar, who was to bear their expenses and give them provisions. Thus a powerful Confederacy came into being which embarrassed the English enormously.

[22] Chapman to Hastings, 29 May 1782, Add. Mss. 29, 154, p. 313.

22

James Mill's Views on the Necessity of Wellesley's War Against Tipu Sultan

B. SURENDRA RAO

THE purpose of this paper is to analyse the views of James Mill on Wellesley's War against Tipu Sultan. The destruction of Tipu's power in 1799 has been admitted as one of the brightest feathers in Wellesley's cap, more so because in so doing, he overcame a mighty obstacle and ensured the steady progress of the British to a position of supremacy in South India. But James Mill in his *History of British-India* has vehemently argued that Wellesley's war against Tipu Sultan was unjustifiable and unnecessary. Since the arguments of Mill, as also his conclusion, are unique and extraordinary, they deserve the attention of a student of history.

James Mill, in his characteristic coldness of logic, argues that the war against Tipu Sultan could be either due to Wellesley's disapprobation of the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) or due to the political changes which rendered the power of Tipu far more formidable in 1798 than it was in 1792, or due to a mere inflammated state of mind on the part of the Governor-General.[1] And then, he proceeds to examine these three possibilities: The first possibility is dismissed on the ground that nowhere in his official correspondence did Wellesley state any disapprobation of the Treaty of Seringapatam, which, according to Mill, meant that no disapprobation of it existed in his mind.[2] It has often been observed that it was a dubious policy to restore to power a bitter foe[3]; and we cannot with certainty state that Wellesley approved of such a policy pursued by Lord Cornwallis. It is true that Wellesley did not explicitly state his disapprobation in his official correspondence. But only a poor logic would conclude that no such disapprobation existed in his mind. In fact, Wellesley was as much aware of the implacable feeling of enmity and revenge which Tipu nursed in his heart after 1792, as were some of his discerning contemporaries.

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1 James Mill, *The History of Btitish India* (London, 1848), VI, p. 78.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3 Lewin B. Bowring, *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* (Delhi, 1969), p. 172.

Wood refers to this fact[4], as does Sir John Malcolm.[5] Even before Wellesley landed in India, he was informed of the dangerous prospect of an alliance between the French and Tipu, and in a letter which he wrote to Henry Dundas from the Cape of Good Hope, he proposed his plan to organize an alliance of the British with the Marathas and the Nizam with a definite view to thwart the ambitions of Tipu.[6] Therefore, it is reasonable to suppose that Wellesley was, from the beginning, doubtful of the arrangements for a durable peace which the Treaty of Seringapatam sought to ensure. In fact, that treaty had left Tipu's pride scotched, and provided ample opportunities for him to equip himself for a war of revenge. And it is quite unlikely that Wellesley should be blind towards the alarming nature of that transaction. If he had not explicitly condemned the treaty, it was only a gentleman's way of desisting from an open condemnation of the act of his illustrious predecessor. Mill's argument, therefore, looses ground on a deeper analysis of the problem. His was a crude and simple diagnosis, and he conducted no X-ray operations.

Mill also dismisses the second plea, and argues that Tipu was not more formidable in 1798 than he was in 1792. Instead, it was the English who had "advanced in all the elements of political power", that is, the enjoyment of peace, the acquisition of French and Dutch settlements in India, and an experience to reap the fruits of their new acquisitions.[7] On the other hand, Tipu, exhausted by the war and humiliated by the defeat, could not be expected to make such progress. The disabilities under which Tipu laboured after the Treaty of Seringapatam certainly could not provide a favourable atmosphere for any alarming growth of his power. Mill's argument appears to be too specious to inspire credence. We need not strain ourselves too much to show the instances in history where humiliation has acted as the most irresistible force in building up the sinews of war and in arranging a comprehensive and ruthless plan for a war of revenge. Tipu's actions truthfully conformed to this rule. Those factors which Mill considers disabilities were, in fact, the very force which propelled Tipu to build up his military strength to the consternation of the English.

After an attempt to establish that intrinsically the British had a greater chance to grow in power—an argument which has failed to

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[4] M. Wood, *A Review of the Original Progress and Result of the Late Decisive War in Mysore* (London, 1800). To the right Honourable Henry Dundas: Dedication.

[5] Sir John Malcolm, *The Political History of India*, edited by K. M. Panikkar (Delhi, 1970), Vol. I, p. 118.

[6] Montgomery Martin, *Wellesley's Despatches*; London, 1836, Vol. I, p. 11, to Henry Dundas, 23 Feb. 1798.

[7] Mill, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 79.

convince us—Mill proceeds to prove that they were not weaker in respect of allies. The Marathas dreaded the increase of Tipu's power and if they showed any indifference, it was due to the fear that by crushing Tipu, the English might grow too formidable. But the arrangements of 1792 which provided for the co-operation of the Marathas against the aggressions of Tipu were still valid. The Nizam, on his part, had sought the alliance with the English because he had increasingly grown jealous of the French influence in his own court. The British, therefore, were not wholly at the mercy of their allies, and it was evidently their strength. Mill concludes that the "English were, in the first place, stronger, intrinsically, and in the next place, not weaker, on any rational ground of computation, in respect of allies, in the year 1798, than in the year 1792."[8] The contention of Mill is not wholly unsound. But we are not quite convinced by his argument that the strength of the British ought to have been a factor to prevent a war against Tipu Sultan. The strength was consciously gained, lest their enemy would grow stronger. The strength of the British in respect of allies was the fruit of shrewd diplomacy, and it was the first decisive step in the reduction of Tipu's power. Mill has obviously failed to notice the real role of diplomacy in the conflict between the English and the ruler of Mysore. And this failure led him to spin extraordinary arguments which intrigue his readers.

Mill further proceeds to inquire into the question as to how far the connection between Tipu and the French could form a pretext for the war. In this he errs in reading the facts. He argues that Tipu was desirous of having the French officers to train his army, for which purpose he sent his agents to the Isle of France. To win the support of the French he announced his hatred against the English with all his wonted exaggeration. The foolish French Governor, Malartic, converted the two agents of Tipu into ambassadors for the purpose of contracting an alliance with the Sultan.[9] Mill has unfortunately overlooked the real intention of Tipu in sending the delegation to the Isle of France. Wellesley was convinced of its aggressive designs.[10] Mir Hussain Alikhan Kirmani refers to the French influence on Tipu as one of the chief causes of the war, for, the English feared that the French assistance would render Tipu's power quite formidable.[11] More than anything else, Mohummud Ibrahim, one of the ambassadors dispatched by Tipu to the Isle of France, wrote to his Sultan the story of his performance: "We observed to the Chiefs that for forty years a friendship had

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 83–85.

[10] Mornington to Henry Dundas (July 6th, 1798).

[11] Mir Hussain Alikhan Kirmani, *History of Tipu Sultan*, translated from Persian by Col. W. Miles (Calcutta, 1958), p. 119.

subsisted between them and your Highness, the circumstance of which it was not necessary to particularize; that it was the most ardent wish of your Highness's heart, by mutual concert to extirpate the English Nation.[12] Tipu's delegation to the Isle of France was no ordinary event so far as the British interests in India were concerned. That Tipu failed to realize his ambition is altogether a different matter. His mode of transaction revealed his "amazing political blindness."[13] But there was no reason why Wellesley should have ignored the action of Tipu. The Governor-General had formed definite views about Tipu's plans, on which he based his definite course of action: "Where there is no doubt, there can be no matter for explanation."[14]

Mill's argument proceeds further to say that "the incident disclosed nothing with regard to the mind of Tipu, which was not perfectly known, believed and acted upon before; namely, his eager desire to do mischief to the English, and to unite with any power that would bask in the design, more especially with the French, whose power and hatred appeared to offer so great a resource."[15] But to regard the French fear as a common place thing because it existed always, can be an unsound proposition. Tipu, like his father, was always eager to seek the French help; but by 1798, he renewed his attempt with a more definite purpose, which naturally alarmed the English. Mill's argument is as ridiculous as an advice from a doctor to a chronic patient to have less anxiety about his ailment and to make no attempt to cure it. Mill has oversimplified the issue when he observes that the connection between Tipu and the French was "so trifling, and their mode of intercourse so very childish and absurd"[16], an oversimplification necessary for his intended conclusion that there was no reason for destroying Tipu at that moment and that no such reason existed since 1792.[17] Mill refuses to take into account the exigencies of time to which many distinguished contemporaries made unequivocal references. William Kirkpatrick refers to Wellesley's "prompt and energetic measures" which defeated the hostile designs of the Sultan.[18] Wood observes that the Governor-General gauged the political situation correctly and was wise enough to take prompt measures.[19] Even the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors

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[12] Wood, *op. cit.*, Appendix Paper (A), No. 19.

[13] S. P. Sen, *The French in India, 1763-1816* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 550.

[14] Minute of the Governor-General (August 12, 1798), *Wellesley's Despatches* (Vol. I), p. 172.

[15] James Mill, *op. cit.*, p. 85-86.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

[18] William Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters of Tipoo Sultan*, (London, 1181), p. ii.

[19] Wood, *op. cit.*, To Henry Dundas: Dedication.

wrote to Wellesley (dated 18th June, 1798) to understand the diplomacy of Tipu and to decide upon the course of action.[20] All those who were required to grapple with the Indian problem had understood the gravity of the situation; but Mill in his cosy closet in England, did not.

Mill's another contention is that the act of the Parliament did not permit an act of aggression; it only made allowance for self-defence. And, "it will be impossible to show, that the war into which the Governor-General was so eager to plunge, was a war of self-defence. . . ."[21] But Wellesley was convinced of the dir enecessity to curb the power of Tipu, which would ultimately ensure a a safe ground for the English in India. The war was not simply a war of self-defence; but it was one goaded by necessity's sharp pinch. And that was a sufficient justification for Wellesley to destroy the power of Tipu. His action perhaps did not conform to the prescribed tenets; but the extraordinary circumstances which prevailed and threatened to wreck the British power in India, justified it.

The utilitarian standards were not fully ignored by Mill in judging the action of Wellesley. The material gain that the British hoped to make was infinitely less than the expenses which they were required to bear to destroy the power of Tipu.[22] It also led to an unfavourable change in the diplomatic relationship between the English and the Marathas—the latter, freed from the fear of Tipu, showing greater independence and aggressive attitude.[23] These are, however, arguments without much weight. They all appear to have been contrived to denounce the action of Wellesley. Mill is critical of the British hatred towards the ruler of Mysore—the English hatred was something similar to "the passion of savages against their enemy."[24] If Tipu nursed an incurable hostility towards the English, that was but a representation of the oriental character. The most regettable thing about the British hatred, according to Mill, was that it was an imitation by a so-called civilized people.

However, that the action of Wellesley was justified by the extremity of circumstances, many historians have agreed.[25] P. E. Roberts, after discussing the curious arguments of Mill, concludes that "the plain truth therefore seems to be that Wellesley had as good reason for going to war with Tipu as any

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20 *Wellesley's Despatches*, Vol. I, p. 62–63.

21 James Mill, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

24 James Mill, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 394.

25 E. Thompson and G. T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, Allahabad, 1969, pp. 207.

statesman could desire."[26] When Wellesley could understand the real nature and intention of Tipu, he did not hesitate to stem the increasing growth of his power. It is a prudent diplomacy to strike the enemy before he could come in for the kill. Wellesley was convinced of Tipu's hostile designs and he promptly decided to stop him before he grew too dangerous. But Mill, characteristic of his anti-imperialistic attitude which he reflects in his history, disapproves Wellesley's war against the Mysore Sultan. For us Mill's arguments can be quite flattering. But, a discriminating student of history cannot fail to find an unveiled inconsistency in his logic. He appears to be too anxious to refute Wellesley, and hence erred in ignoring several important facts and some of the prime considerations of successful diplomacy which alone could establish the British power in India on a sure footing. It is unnecessary to expatiate on the justification of Wellesley's war against Tipu Sultan. But in a critical study of James Mill as a historian of British-India, his extraordinary arguments and logic cannot escape our notice. In fact, it is these extraordinary arguments which have rendered Mill's History a controversial one.

[26] P. E. Roberts, *India under Wellesley* (Gorakhpur, 1961), p. 57.

23

Nayaks of Ikkeri and the Haleri Rajahs of Coorg—Their Interrelation

D. N. KRISHNAYYA

THE Haleri Rajahs ruled over Coorg from about the end of the 16th century to 1834 when the last Rajah of Coorg was deposed by the British and deported to Benares. This dynasty is descended from the royal family of Ikkeri. A prince of that family is said to have come to Coorg in the garb of a Jangama or Lingayat priest and first settled in a village called Haleri. There he gathered a large number of adherents from among the local people, mostly Coorgis.

Coorg was ruled in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by petty chieftains called Nayaks who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vijayanagar empire. These Nayaks ruled over groups of villages, called *Nads* in Coorg, and were constantly at feud with one another. Therefore, there was no peace and a state of anarchy prevailed in the country. The Ikkeri prince, Vira Raja, who had settled at Haleri availed of this situation and, as the number of his followers increased, he defeated the Nayaks one after the other and acquired their territories. The last and the most powerful Nayak to fail was Karnembahu, the Nayak of Bhagamandala-nad. Since Vira Raja had first settled at Haleri in Coorg and ruled from there the dynasty descended from him was called the Haleri dynasty. It was during the period of Muddu Raja, the third in the line, that the capital was shifted to Madikeri.[1]

Now, questions may be asked as to how the Coorg Haleri Rajahs can be said to have descended from a prince of the Ikkeri royal family and what circumstances induced him to settle in Coorg and carve out a kingdom for him there.

Doddavirarajendra Wadeyar (1789-1809), the most important of the Rajahs of the Haleri dynasty and the tenth in the line got a history of the Haleri Rajahs of Coorg written. In this work called *Rajendraname* reference is made to a transaction between Somasekhara Nayaka of Ikkeri and Doddavirappa, one of the ancestors of the Haleri family wherein it is stated that Somasekhara Nayaka of Ikkeri and Doddavirappa are of the same family (ಸ್ವಕೀಯಾಸ್ತರು).

Again, while making depositions before some British officers of

[1] *Coorg District Gazetteer* (1965), p. 58.

the company, some persons who had served in Coorg under Doddavirarajendra Wadeyar and Lingarajendra Wadeyar and had later gone to Mysore, appear to have said that the bards of Dodda Virarajendra Wadeyar were singing about the Haleri Rajahs as '*Nugger-waleyka Pind*' (ನಗ್ಗರ್‌ವಾಲೇಕಾಪಿಂಡ್) and '*Mysore-waleyka Mind*' (ಮೈಸೂರ್ ವಾಲೇಕಾ ಮಿಂಡ್). This means that the Haleri kings were descended from the Nagar rulers, but were the paramours of the Mysore rulers. Coorg and Mysore were often at war in the times of the early Rajahs of the Haleri dynasty and, therefore, the Coorg princes were looking upon the rulers of Mysore with contempt.

The next question that has to be answered is about the circumstances which induced the Ikkeri prince to carve out a kingdom for himself in a country far away from Ikkeri or Bednore. Sadasiva Nayaka II (1519-1545) of the Ikkeri dynasty had conquered the whole of South Kanara and brought it under his suzerainty. Thereafter, successive Nayaks of that dynasty were coming to South Kanara to put down the uprisings of the people and to extend their territories to the south. It is possible that the Ikkeri prince who founded a principality in Coorg accompanied the invading army of the Ikkeri Nayaks and, having come to know the anarchical conditions in Coorg, which was touching South Kanara in the south-east, came to Coorg with a few adherents and first settled at Haleri. That he overthrew the Nayaks of Coorg after he settled at Haleri and that he became the master of the whole country has been mentioned above.

There are some instances on record in both the history of the Ikkeri Nayaks and the history of the Haleri Rajahs upto 1807, to show that the Haleri Rajahs of Coorg were treated as dependents or feudatories of the Ikkeri Nayaks from the beginning of the rule of the Haleri Rajahs in Coorg.

Venkatappa Nayaka I (1582-1629) of Ikkeri overran South Kanara sometime in the second decade of the seventeenth century. On his way back from South Kanara he visited the temple of Subramanya and from there sent a force against the Rajah of Coorg demanding allegiance from him. The Rajah of Coorg, probably Vira Raja, was compelled to pay tribute.[2]

These accounts of the relations between the Nayaks of Ikkeri and the Rajahs of Coorg are found in the history of the Ikkeri Nayaks written by F. M. Mascrenhas of Mangalore, but not in the '*Rajendraname*'. The reason is obvious. Dodda Virarajendra Wadeyar cared not to mention anything derogatory to his dynasty or anything which would show that the Rajahs of his dynasty owed allegiance to any other superior power.

In the history of the Nayaks of Ikkeri there is the mention of

[2] For some more of such relations, see *op. cit.*

Rani Channammaji of Ikkeri having paid a visit to the shrine of Subramanya when the Rajah of Coorg paid her a visit. Then valuable presents were exchanged between them. Rani Channammaji ruled Bednore from 1671 to 1697. The year of her visit to Subramanya is not known. Therefore, Muddu Raja of Coorg who ruled Coorg from 1633 to 1687 or his son Doddavirappa who ruled from 1687 to 1736 must have visited her at Subramanya.

In the '*Keladi Nripa Vijaya*' Chenna Basava Nayak who ruled in Bednore from 1754 to 1757 is said to have placed his candidate on the throne of the Belur principality over-powering the Rajah of Coorg who supported another candidate for that throne in a disputed succession. It should be remembered that both the rival candidates for the throne of Belur were named Krishnappa Nayak.

Form the instances given in this article we see that the Nayaks of Ikkeri looked upon the Rajahs of Coorg as their dependents and demanded homage from them. It is for this reason that Haider Ali Khan treated the Rajahs of Coorg as his feudatories when he conquered Bednore in 1764, though the Coorg Rajahs denied their having been in such a position.

24

Karnataka's Contacts with Ceylon

S. NAGARAJU

No attempt at a comprehensive study of the trans-oceanic contacts of Karnataka has been made out yet, barring incidental observations by a few scholars in recent years. The field is, by and large, an untrodden one. The reason for this lacuna in historical research is often considered to be the reticence of the source material available. Recent work, however, has shown that this is not the exact reason, but as one scholar has pointed out, it is more due to an attitude of self-depreciation on the part of the historians of this country;[2] in many instances the references to foreign lands available in the indigenous sources have been either misinterpreted, or brushed aside as hollow statements, and the foreign sources have hardly been tapped. The study of this aspect of history demands a fresh approach. As a step towards this an attempt has been made herein to delineate and discuss the political, economic and cultural contacts that existed between ancient Karnataka and the island of Ceylon.

Trade and politics appear to have played a prominent role in this regard. The island of Ceylon, which is located down the tip of the Asian landmass and mid-way on the maritime route between the East and West of the ancient civilized world, was of strategic importance throughout history. Ancient chronicles disclose that ships plying between the Pacific Ocean and the Persian Gulf had to touch Ceylonese ports both on their way up and down. Naturally, this island was the bone of contention for many great powers of the past that were interested in gaining control over the money-spinning maritime trade. History reveals that there was incessant

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[1] Sircar, D. C.: *Indian Epigraphy* (Delhi, 1965), p. 202 ff; and "Karnatak's contribution to the spread of Indianism in South-East Asia", Studies in Asian history, *Proceedings of the Asian History Congress*, 1961 (New Delhi, 1969), p. 177; Seshadri, M.: "Roman contacts with South India", *Archaeology*, 19, No 4, p. 244; Saletore, B.A.: *Karnataka's Trans-oceanic contacts* (Dharwar, 1956); Nagaraju, S.: "Karnataka's Cultural contacts with south-east Asia", *Prabuddha Karnataka*, Vol. 51, No. 3, pp. 139 ff; and "Chalukya Vinayaditya's invervention in Combodian politics", *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (Prof. P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume, Dharwar, 1971), pp. 222 ff.

[2] Ramesh, K. V.: *Karnataka Sasana Sameekshe* (Bangalore 1961), p. 56.

activity on the part of big powers of various countries to extend their political authority or at least to maintain good relations with the local ruling families. This is quite explicit in the well recorded period of Ceylonese history, when the Portuguese, the Dutch and the British were competing with one another to gain hegemony over the island.[3] The position was not different in the periods that preceded. The political powers of Karnataka too used to take part in this game; whenever they gained an upper hand in the politics of the South Indian peninsula, they exerted themselves to extend their sphere of influence to the island of Ceylon. This account is mostly the account of such political activity. But such instances were intermittent, they being constrained by considerable distance between the two countries. Kerala and Tamil Nadu were in an advantageous position in this regard due to their geographical proximity, but these were also to be humbled first by the Karnataka powers before embarking upon any adventure to lay hands in the affairs of the island. This demanded mightier leadership and greater resources, and such occasions when both were there were only a few.

However, Karnataka had an advantage too to establish contacts with Ceylon. Till recently, before the invention of mariner's aids like the chronometer and the introduction of mechanised shipping, which facilitated travel on uncharted oceans, the ships from west to east followed almost the coast line. Mariners, starting from the Persian Gulf, used to sail along the west coast of South India, while on their way to Ceylon and further east. The western coastline of Karnataka stretching for over two hundred miles and commanding natural-harbours like Honnavar, Bhatkal, Malpe and Mangalore, is mid-way on the route, and it is known that many ships used to frequent Karnataka ports. This provided opportunities for the people of this country to participate in trans-oceanic activity. But, at the present stage of research, it is not easy to make out how far the Kannadigas took advantage of this opportunity. The sources at our command are sparse, indirect and intermittent.

Early Times : The earliest evidence relating to the contacts between Karnataka and the island of Ceylon pertains to the 1st century B.C. The Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa* states that during the time of the king Duttagamini (101–77 B.C.), Buddhist monks from various countries participated in the ceremony of laying the foundation for the Mahastupa at Anuradhapura. Among them were 80,000 ascetics from the Vanavasa country (North-Kanara region), who

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[3] Codrington, H.W. : *A Short History of Ceylon*, (London, 1929): Peiris, P.E.: *The Dutch power in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1929); and *Ceylon—the Portuguese Era*, I and II (Colombo, 1913 and 1914); Panikkar, K. M. : *Asia and Western Dominance* (London, 1953).

went there under the leadership of Thera Chandagutta.[4] The religious fraternity of the two countries may have been well in contact in the succeeding centuries too. It may benoted that it is possibly due to this reason that the sculptures from the recently discovered Buddhist site at Sannati, in Gulbarga district, have some interesting features common with the contemporary art tradition of Ceylon.[5]

The Chalukya Period: After a long silence our sources become articulate again by the latter part of the 7th century A.D., by which time a definite political configuration had taken place in Southern India, and Karnataka had risen there to be a power to reckon with. Now, Ceylon begins to appear in the historical records of Karnataka as a victim of political aggrandizement. The copper plate charters of the Chalukyas of Badami issued during the time of Vijayaditya and his successors[6] invariably mention Simhala as one of the countries from which tributes were recovered by Vinayaditya (681–96 A.D.). The earliest record giving this information is the Mayalur plates of Vijayaditya dated Saka 622 (700 A.D.). When exactly his father Vinayaditya had an opportunity to extract tributes from Ceylon, is a question difficult to answer. It is stated in the copper plates themselves that Vinayaditya ventured to enter into the affairs of the countries like Simhala 'after putting down the rampant power of the Pallavas. The texts run :

तारकारातिरिव दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धतम् त्रैराज्यकाञ्चीपतिबलमवष्टभ्य करदीकृत कमेर पारसीक सिंहळादि द्वीपाधिपस्य . . . विनयादित्यस्य

Right from 687 A.D., in the copper plate charters of Vinayaditya he is described as having subdued the Pallavas.[7] It is known that in the sevaral wars Vikramaditya I had fought against the Pallavas, Vinayaditya had also participated. It is likely that the references to the defeat of the Pallavas by Vinayaditya are to these early victories. But, if the Chalukya intervention in Ceylon was in continuation of a decisive encounter against the Pallavas, a war might have been fought early in 693 A.D., or a little before, since the Kolhapur plates[8] dated in that year for the first time include Ceylon

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[4] Geiger, W. (translated by): *Mahavamsa* (London, 1912), chapt. XXIV, Verse 42. Apropos, it may be mentioned that the earliest literary evidence throwing light on the history of Karnataka is provided by this Ceylonese chronicle, wherein is a reference to the spread of Buddhism in this country during the reign of the Mauryan emperor Asoka (XII–31).

[5] *Karnataka Through the Ages* (Bangalore, 1968), p. 1017.

[6] The Mayalur (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXIII, p. 311), Rayagad (*Ibid.*, X, p. 14), Elapura (*Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, IV, p. 425), Nerur (*Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 130), Shiggaon (*Ep. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 317), Bopagaon (*B.I.S.M.*, IX, pt. II, p. 2) etc. Plates of Vijayaditya; the Narawan (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVII, p. 125) Plates of Vikramaditya II; the Didgur (*Ibid.*, VI, p. 253) and Vokkaleri (*Ibid.*, V, p. 202) etc. Plates of Kirtivarma II.

[7] Jejuri plates of Saka 609, (*Ibid.*, XIX, p. 62).

in the list of countries conquered by Vinayaditya, while this information is absent in the plates of the same ruler dated 692.[9] The Ceylonese sources are silent about this incident. If so, the ruler of who accepted Chalukyan suzerainty then would be Manavarma Ceylon (668–703 A.D.). This is significant because Manavarma is known tohave been a strong supporter of the Pallavas, and had directly participated in several wars fought by them against the Chalukyas of Badami,[10] and it can be easily construed that, when an opportunity arose, Vinayaditya took revenge against an ally of his enemy.

The Rashtrakuta Period: Sources throw light on such contacts, again a century later, when the Rashtrakutas were ruling in Karnataka. The Sanjan plates[11] of Amoghavarsha I state that when the confederacy of southern kings—the Ganga, Chera, Chola and Pandya —was subdued by the mighty Rashtrakuta emperor Govinda III, the king of Ceylon hurried to offer submission to him by sending his own statue and that of his minister, while the latter was camping at Kanchi. The Ceylonese sources are silent about this incident. The contemporary Ceylonese king was Aggabodhi VIII (c. 794–805 A.D.)

There is one incident mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicle, which throws light on the Karnata activities in the island during the time of Mahinda IV (c. 953–69 A.D.). *Chulavamsa* states[12] "The Vallabha king sent a force to Nagadipa (North Ceylon) to subdue this our country. The ruler hearing this sent thither the *senapati* Sena by name to fight against the Vallabha king. Sena defeated the troops of the Vallabha and the latter made a treaty with the ruler of Lanka. In this way the fame of the king penetrated Jambudipa spreading over Lanka and crossing the ocean." A number of attempts have been made by historians to identify this Vallabha, the invader of North Ceylon.[13] Codrington, Nilakanta Sastry and some others have identified him as Chola Parantaka, considering Vallabha as a corrupted form of *Valavan,* a word used with reference to the Cholas. But, Basham, Wijetunga and others have shown clearly that this must be a reference to Rashtrakuta Krishna III (939–966 A.D.) only. The name Chola was well known to the Ceylonese chroniclers, and there would be no reason to account for an unusual term employed

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8 *KI.*, II, p. 62.

9 *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 24.

10 Geiger, W. (translated by): *Culavamsa*, pt. I (Colombo, 1953), ch. 47, verses 15 to 24.

11 *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 246.

12 *Culavamsa*, I, 54, 12 to 16,

13 Basham, A. L.: *Ceylon Historical Journal,* IV, pp. 13-14; *History of Ceylon* (Univ. of Ceylon, Colombo) I, pt. I, p. 340, 347; *Travancore Archaeological Series*, III, pp. 14–15; Nilakanta Sastry, K. A.: *The Colas*, pp. 154–55; Altekar, A. S.: *Rashtrakutas and Their Times*, pp. 107–08; Wijetunga, W. M. K. in *University of Ceylon Review*, XX, No. 2, p. 287.

here. Further, the term *Vallabha*, used as a title for the kings of the Karnataka area is equally known. The author of *Chulavamsa* himself has made use of that in another instance.[14] Hence it should refer to the contemporary ruler of Karnataka, viz., Krishna III of the Rashtrakuta dynasty. After the decisive Rashtrakuta victory against the Cholas at Takkolam in 949 A.D., Krishna III or at least some part of his forces, may have marched southwards towards the shores of Ceylon. The Karhad plates[15] dated Saka 880 (959 A.D.) mention that he had encamped at that time at Melpadi (North Arcot district) and there he received envoys and gifts from his vassals, such as the king of Ceylon, and had erected a pillar of victory at Rame-svaram. Another inscription[16] includes the Sinhalese king among those who bowed down at the feet of Krishna. Moreover, a contemporary literary work, *Yasastilaka* of Somadeva,[17] also credits Krishna with victory over the island of Ceylon. Most of these sources are dated around 959 A.D., within three years of Mahinda's accession in 957–58 A.D. Somewhere between 957 and 959, Krishna, in extension to his southern expedition, may have succeeded in gaining a foothold in Northern Ceylon.

His hegemony over that part of Ceylon was short-lived, and Krishna III and Mahinda IV were reconciled. But, this incident appears to have left a salutary effect in establishing better contacts between Karnataka and the island. It may be noted that from this time onwards the soldiers from Karnataka used to stay in that country, probably as mercenaries. *Chulavamsa* records that, when the Sinhalese king Mahinda (c. 978–1029 A.D.) fled away from his palace at Anuradhapura, being unable to satisfy the troops, 'the Keralas, Sihalas and Karnatas carried on the Government.[18] It is again in this period that there was a free movement of the members of the ruling families of the two countries to one another. A Chola inscription[19] refers to a king of Ceylon, Srivallabha Madanaraja, 'who had lived for sometime in the court of Kannara', i.e. Rashtrakuta Krishna III.

It appears that the Silahara family of Konkan belonged to Ceylon originally. The Kharepatan plates[20] of Silahara Rattaraja describe the members of this family as 'the best of the Simhala

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[14] *Chulavamsa*, I, 47, 15.

[15] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 278–90.

[16] *Ibid.*, XXXII, p. 56.

[17] Sivadatta (Ed.), pt. I, iii, pp. 246–47, 439; See Altekar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 118–19.

[18] I, 55, 12.

[19] *S.I.I.*, III, p. 51 ff.

[20] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 292. It is dated Saka 930 (1008–09). This, however, is a lone instance mentioning a connection between Silahara and Simhala. Keilhorn, the editor of the inscription, thought that this may be just due to the similarity of the two names.

kings' (ततः सिळारवंशोऽभूत् सिंहळक्ष्माभृतां वरः). In the Jaffna region, it is said, there are many families with the name Nolambarayar.[21] These may have been the descendents of the ruling house of Nolambavadi of Karnataka, which had been subjugated by the Rashtrakutas at that time. Again, a number of families and persons claiming the name Ganga are known to have held high offices under the Cholas and the Sinhalese kings, and some of them had gained imperial status in Jaffna later in the 15th and 16th centuries A.D.[22] It is likely that the ancestors of these might have migrated from Karnataka. It is interesting to note that a number of gold coins, with 'caparisoned elephant' on the obverse and 'floral arabesque' on the reverse, usually ascribed to the Gangas of Talkad, have been found in Ceylon. A hoard of 179 coins of this type was unearthed in 1922 at Allaippidi in Jaffna district.[23]

The time of the Later Chalukyas and Hoysalas: The Narendra inscription[24] of Kadamba Jayakesin II, dated 1125 A.D., credits one of his ancestors, Chattayyadeva (Shashthadeva, 1005–1050 A.D.) with a number of maritime adventures. He is stated to have captured many islands like Kavadidvipa and built a bridge with a multitude of ships upto the shores of Lanka and demanded tributes from the kings of that country:

'ಕವಡಿ ದ್ವೀಪಮುಮಾದಿಯಾಗೆ ಪಲವುಂ ದ್ವೀಪಂಗಳಂ ಕೊಂಡು ಲಂಕೆವರಂ
ಕಜ್ತಿ ಬಹಿತ್ರ ಸಂತತಿಗಳಿಂದಂ ಸೇತುವಂ ಕಟ್ಟಿ ಕಪ್ಪಮುಮಂಗಾ್ರಸುರರಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇಡೆ'

This figurative accouut is an attempt to recount one of the naval expeditions undertaken by Kadamba Shashthadeva, probably sometime during the time of Chalukya Jayasimha II (1015–42 A.D.). An inscription of the time of Bhuvanaikamalla describes him as one whose feet shone by the glitter of the jewels of crowns of many kings, among whom the Simhala ruler is also included.[25] Whatever be the veracity of these statements, there appears to be no doubt that during the time of the great emperor Vikramaditya VI, when Karnataka had gained an edge over the other powers of Southern India, there were attempts towards the extension of its influence to the island of Ceylon. The Rajapura (Bastar district) copper plate grant of Vikramaditya VI dated in the year 1076 A.D., mentions this[26]; and this is corroborated by Bilhana's *Vikramankadevacharita*, wherein it

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[21] Rasanayagam : *Ancient Jaffna* (Madras, 1926), p. 242.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 304 ; *Chulavamsa*, part II (London, 1930), chapt. 76, verses 133, 134, 139 to 144 etc.

[23] Codrington, H. W. : *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo, 1924), pp. 172 and 262.

[24] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 298 ff.

[25] The Soratur inscription dated 1071 A.D., *S.I.I.*, XI, part I, No. 111.

[26] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 108 ; Sewell, R. : *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (Madras, 1932), p. 86.

is stated that the Simhala king submitted at the very approach of Vikrama.[27]

The exact political impact of Vikramaditya's expedition to Ceylon is not easy to assess, but this surely paved the way for further contacts. *Chulavamsa* makes reference to an exchange embassies of between Karnataka and Ceylon in this period during the reign of Vijayabahu I (c. 1055–1110 A.D.): 'Envoys sent by the Karnata monarch and the Chola king came hither with rich presents. They sought out the monarch. He was greatly pleased thereat. After rendering both embassies what was their due, he sent at first with the Karnata messengers his own envoys to Karnata, with choice gifts'.[28] This was perhaps in 1084 A.D.[29] In the account pertaining to Jayabahu (c. 1110–1116 A.D.), *Chulavamsa* refersto administrative divisions like *Dvadasasahassaka* (12,000) and *Atthasahassaka* (8000)[30], and such are heard for the first time in Ceylonese history. The practice of adding numerals to the names of administrative divisions was a system widely prevalent in the Chalukyan territory and a similar practice was probably introduced as a part of the administrative changes attempted in Ceylon at this time. A number of Karnata mercenaries had been maintained in Ceylon during this period; *Chulavamsa* states that Gajabahu I (1137–53 A.D.) had kept the Karnata soldiers in readiness to fight against his rival Parakramabahu I.[38]

A glimpse of peaceful contacts that existed at that time is also provided by a rare epigraph from Sravanabelgola. While describing the spiritual succession of a line of Jaina teachers there, one Yasahkirti is praised as the 'sun to the lotus, the logic of *syadvada*, who was honoured with *arghya* and *padya* by the Sinhalese king.[32] From the internal evidences in the record itself, this Yasahkirti can be placed in the 12th century A.D. Parakramabahu I (1153–86), the great emperor of Ceylon, known for the innumerable irrigation works he caused to be made for the benefit of the people, named a few canals he constructed as Tungabhadra, Malaprahari and Kaveri.[33] Trade too flourished between the two countries. A number of inscriptions of the five hundred of Ayyavale, a merchant guild of Karnataka, mention that they moved to various countries for busis

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[27] Chapt. IV, 20.

[28] *Culavamsa*, I, 60, 24 to 28. However, the Cholas maimed the Sinhalese messengers while they were passing through the Chola country on their way to Karnataka. Enraged by this unfriendly act Vijayabahu declared war with the Cholas.

[29] *History of South India*, p. 191.

[30] *Culavamsa*, I, 61.22 and 24.

[31] *Ibid.*, 70. 230.

[32] *Ep. Carn.*, II, No. 69.

[33] *Culavamsa*, II, 79. 45, 53 and 55.

ness[34], Lambakarna being one of them. It is known that Lambakarna is the name of an ancient tribe in Ceylon which played a prominent role in the affairs of that country.[35] It is likely that Lambakarna of the epigraphs is a reference to Ceylon itself. In *Abhilashitarthachintamani* Somesvara refers to pearls, emerald and sapphire from Ceylon. It may not be unreasonable to think that these were imported to Karnataka from that country.[36]

In the 13th century A.D., when Hoysala Narasimha II (1220-38 A.D.) interfered in the politics of the Tamil country, he came into conflict with the Ceylonese. The Hoysala general Gopaya played a prominent role in the military activities in the South and was famous as 'Samudra Gopaya',[37] the epithet *Samudra* having been gained by him probably from the victories he secured in maritime battles. It is said that he slew one Parakramabahu of Ceylon, who had joined the enemy.[38] An unexpected support to this incident comes from a Tamil source from Ceylon. *Segarajasekaram*, an astronomical work written in Jaffna, has in its introductory portion a verse in praise of an ancestor of the Jaffna kings who fought with the Poysala king: "The king, who went, fought and conquered the Canarese at Antaravalli, and the king who punished the Poysala by cutting off the trunk of his enraged elephant."[39] The ruler at this time in Ceylon was Magha (c. 1214–1235 A.D.) and it is likely that the unfortunate Parakramabahu who met his death at the hands of the Hoysala general is a minor chief of North Ceylon.[40] Despite political rivalries, matrimonial alliances among the members of the royal houses of the two countries appear to have been made in this period. *Chulavamsa* states that Vijayabahu IV (c. 1271–73 A.D.) had brought hither (Ceylon) the king's daughters from Jumbudipa and they made the nobles of the foreign lands king's kinsmen.[41] Due to such alliances probably one of the sons of Virabahu, nephew of Vijayabahu IV, was named Tribhuvanamalla, and one of the brothers of Vijayabahu himself, had the name Trailokyamalla[42], names that were in use in the royal families of Karnataka. An inscription from

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[34] *S.I.I.*, XX, No. 112; *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Shimoga 57 etc.

[35] *Mahavamsa*, xxxv-16, xxxvi-58, xxxvi-41; *Culavamsa*, I, 39. 44 etc.; Rasanayagam: *op. cit.*, p. 69, 72 etc.

[36] Shamasastry, R. (ed): *Abhilashitarthachintamani* (Mysore, 1926), Vol. I, 441-13, p. 84, 509, p. 91, 522, p. 93 and 494, p. 90; Gururajachar, S.: *Economic and Social Life of Karnataka*, A.D. 1000-1300 (unpublished thesis, Mysore, 1971), p. 166.

[37] *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Intro. p. 10.

[38] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 160; *History of South India*, p. 213.

[39] Rasanayagam: *op. cit.*, p. 329; *Sirappupayiram*: *Segarajasekaram*, verse 6.

[40] Mendis, G. C.: *The Early History of Ceylon* (Calcutta, 1932), p. 76.

[41] *Culavamsa*, II, 87.28.

[42] *Ibid.*, 87.17 and 88.20.

Kenjeru, Udipi taluk, dated 1282–83 A.D., refers to one *Pattada-piriy-arasi* Ballamahadevi as born in the family of Manabharana. Manabharana was a well known prince of Ceylon, who was virtually the ruler of that country in the early part of the 11th century A.D.[43]

The Vijayanagara epoch and later : A number of records of this period testify to the impact of Karnataka on Ceylon. A record of 1385–86 relates that prince Virupaksha conquered, among others, the Sinhalese.[44] The Ariyur plates describe him as one who received tributes from Ceylon.[45] It is known that Harihara II appointed Virupaksha (Virupanna-odeyar) as the viceroy of the Tamil country and that he put down the rebels there with a stern hand. It was probably on this occasion that Virupanna-odeyar led an expedition to Ceylon and extracted tributes from its ruler.[46] A statement in the introductory portion of the Sanskrit drama, the *Narayani-vilasam* by the prince Virupaksha himself, describes him as having set up a pillar of victory in that island.[47] This conquest is probably the one referred to in the Sinhalese work *Rajavali* as the Malabar invasion of Mahadesa (Central Ceylon), in which king Vijayabahu of Gampola was killed.[48] The conqueror is said to have left a viceroy in Kandy who is called Sojawana Sevo Raja. Mendis considers that the territory conquered by Virupaksha may be the Jaffna kingdom only.[49] Codringtom probably contributes to this view and refers to the Sinhalese poems of the time which speak of the people of Jaffna as Canarese, i.e., of the Vijayanagara forces settled there.[50] If the *Rajavali* account of the conquest referred to above is considered to be the same as the Vijayanagara invasion, Virupaksha may have reached as far as Central Ceylon. The contemporary king in Central Ceylon was probably Bhuvanekabahu V (1369–91). In Jaffna Vira Alakesvara of Rajigam or his predecessor was ruling. On the basis of references available in the Indian records, the Vijayanagara conquest of Ceylon may be placed around 1385–86 A.D.

About fifty years later, towards the end of the reign of Devaraya II, there was another invasion over Ceylon.[51] The Nayar inscription

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[43] Ramesh, K. V. : (*A History of South Kanara*, Dharwar, 1970), thinks that Ballamahadevi may have belonged to a family of Aluvakheda, as her name and titles are similar to those that prevailed in South Kanara itself (pp. 125, 127).

[44] Codrington, H. W. : *A Short History of Ceylon* (London 1929), p. 84.

[45] *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVIII, p. 12.

[46] Majumdar, R. C. (ed.) : *Delhi Sultanate* (Bombay 1960), p. 280.

[47] Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, S. : *Sources of Vijayanagar History* (Madras, 1924), p. 53.

[48] Rasanayagam : *op. cit.*, p. 365.

[49] Mendis : *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[50] Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[51] Mendis : *op. cit.*, p. 77.

of this king dated Saka 1360 (1468 A.D.) describes the king as recovering tributes from Ceylon.[52] Nuniz confirms this.[53] Probably as a result of these political relations, Devaraya married a Sinhalese princess, who is named in a copper plate inscription as Simhaladevi.[54] It is of interest to note that this Simhaladevi is the mother of Virupaksha, who succeeded Devaraya to the Vijayanagara throne.

Abdul Razzak also throws some light on Karnataka-Ceylon connections. He informs that when Devaraya's minister 'Dainang' (*Dandanayaka*) had gone on a voyage to the frontiers of Ceylon, the king's brother treacherously killed the nobles and there was confusion in the capital. Then the king requested 'Dainang' to return, and he came back and set right things.[55] This Dainang is identified by many scholars as Lakkanna Dandanayaka, the governor of the southern territories.[56] Many inscriptions ascribe to him the title *Dakshinasamudradhipati*[57], which might have been due to his victorious activities in the Southern ocean, which necessarily brought him into contact with Ceylon. However, the Simhala allegiance to Devaraya was short-lived. The Ceylonese sources disclose that one Sapumal Kumaraya conquered Jaffna and even led an expedition to Adirampet in South India. Mendis thinks that this was after the death of Devaraya.[58] It is also likely that the event could have taken place after Lakkanna's return to the capital.

Rajanatha Dindima's *Saluvabhyudayam*[59], a historical poem glorifying the Vijayanagara king Saluva Narasimha (1486–91 A.D.) has an account of this king's expedition to the South. It states that after his success in the Tamil country he went to Trivandrum, and at that time the Simhala king showed inclination to enter into a treaty with him. But, at the instance of a chief called Kutavachalendratatavasin (not identifiable) "Nrisimha invaded Nagamandala. He left a garrison there and returned with a desire to conquer Prithugiri."[60] Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar suggested that this Nagamandala could be Nagarakhanda (Shimoga—North Kanara region).[61] But it

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52 *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1917*, No. 144 of 1916 (para 60).

53 Habib, M. and Nizami, K. A. (ed.): *The Delhi Sultanat, A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. V (Delhi, 1970), p. 1059.

54 Sujjalur plates of Virupaksha dated Saka 1396 (1474 A.D.), *Ep. Carn.*, III, Malavalli 121. The Srisailam plates of the same king also have the same genealogical text, but the name of this queen is read there as 'Siddaladevi' (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 20 and plate).

55 *Delhi Sultanat*, p. 1059; *Delhi Sultanate*, pp. 293–4.

56 *Ibid.* For a different view see Saletore, B. A.: "The Vijayanagara conquest of Ceylon", *Ind. Ant.*, LXI, (1932), pp. 215 and 223.

57 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Anekal 85 etc.

58 Mendis: *op. cit.*, p. 77.

59 Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

60 *Ibid.*, *Saluvabhyudayam*, Cantos V and VI.

61 *Ibid.*, Note.

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appears more logical to identify this with Nagadipa (North Ceylon) which is just at a day's distance from Kerala where Nrisimha had camped with his army; further, there was no necessity to conquer Nagarakhanda as it was already under Vijayanagara sway. This contention is probably substantiated by references in a number of inscriptions to the conquest of Lanka by Narasanayaka[62], the father of Krishnadevaraya and Achyutaraya. The king's claim of the conquest of Lanka may have been based on his general's achievement, and, in any case, Vijayanagara had extended its political authority over Ceylon. It is said that a literary work has a confirmatory reference wherein Saluva Narasimha is said to have received tributes from Ceylon.[63] According to Luigi Barthema who visited India in 1507, Ceylon or at least some of its kings, acknowledged the suzerainty of Vijayanagara.[64]

Subsequently too, a number of kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty claim to have conquered Ceylon. The Piranmalai inscription refers to the conquest of Ceylon by Krishnadevaraya[65], and on internal evidence the event is ascribable to 1522 century A.D. An inscription in the Rajagopala temple in Tanjore, dated 1539 A.D., informs that Achyutaraya conquered Ilam (Ceylon).[66] He is said to have planted a pillar of victory at Tamraparni. His successor Sadasivaraya has a similar claim and is described in inscriptions as 'conqueror of all countries and Ceylon.' He had appointed Ramaraja's cousin Vitthala as Viceroy of the Southern country including Simhala.[67] Another inscription says that he 'looted Ceylon'.[68] It is somewhat of interest to note that the inscriptions with such claims are known only from the Tamil country. Heras thinks that these events of conquest, loot etc., might have a reference to the invasion of Ceylon by Krishnappa Nayaka, the Governor of Madurai against the king of Kandy. Vijayanagara's hold on Ceylon at this time appears to be supported by a statement of Ferishta who says 'Ramaraya summoned all his dependents from the banks of Krishna as far as the island of Ceylon', to participate in the battle of Rakkasa Tangadi.[69] In some later Vijayanagara records too kings like Sriranga and Venkata are credited with control over Ceylon; but these can be easily dismissed since these rulers were weaklings who

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62 *Ep. Carn.*, VII Nagar 64; IV, Gundalpet 30; III Mandya 55; *MAR.*, 1947–56, p. 167 etc.

63 *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 299.

64 Heras, H.: *Aravidu Dynasty* (Madras 1927), p. 57, note 1.

65 *MER.*, 1904, No. 146 of 1903, also 4 of 1894.

66 *Ibid.*, 1904, No. 146 of 1903, No. 40 of 1897, Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900.

67 *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 129.

68 *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 451.

69 Heras, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 198.

were unable to stand firm in their own territories.[70]

The commercial activity that existed between Karnataka and Ceylon is testified by the discovery of a number of Vijayanagara gold coins in different parts of Ceylon. The Numismatic evidence starts from the time of Devaraya II, and includes gold *pagodas* of that king as well as *pagodas* and half *pagodas* of Krishnadevaraya, Achyutaraya and Sadasivaraya.[71] Cultural influences too might have been there. It is said that the Gadaladeniya Vihara at Polonnuruwa built by Bhuvanaikabahu IV of Gampola is the only Buddhist Vihara built of stone and has all the characteristics of the Vijayanagara style of architecture.[72]

The power and glory of Karnataka ceased to flourish after the collapse of the Vijayanagara empire. Karnataka stood divided between the Adilshahis in the north and a number of petty principalities in the south engaging themselves in internal squabbles. The Portuguese had gained mastery over the Arabian sea. From now on Karnatas are rarely heard of in Ceylon, and if they find mention, they were there only as servants of a foreign power, as mercenaries in the Portuguese army.[73]

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[70] After reviewing certain evidences relating to the Vijayanagara conquest of Ceylon (*Ind. Ant.*, LXI, pp. 215 and 223), Saletore opined that there was only one conquest by Vijayanagara during the time of Virupaksha I, and all the later references to Ceylon in Vijayanagara inscriptions are only due to a habitual practice of claiming glory through the past achievements of their predecessors. But, we feel, the details given above reveal that Saletore had underestimated the power of the Vijayanagara empire.

[71] *Ceylon Coin and Currency*, p. 171.

[72] Mendis : *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[73] Peiris, P. E.: *Ceylon the Portuguese era*, Vol. I (Colombo, 1913), p. 22; *Ibid.*, Vol. II (Colombo, 1914), pp. 193, 195, 200, 204, 206–11, 286 and 295.

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Sources of the History of Karnataka in Sanskrit Literature

R. S. SHIVAGANESHA MURTHY

In the field of Sanskrit literature, the sources of the type of chronicles or quasi-historical poems are not to be found in large numbers. So far, no official records of the day-to-day affairs of the royal houses are preserved in Sanskrit, though it may be gathered on epigraphical evidence that Sanskrit was a much favoured language of certain empires. The only work that can be called history even from the present day standards is the Kashmir chronicle by Kalhana, viz., *Rajatarangini*. The other biographies that we have in Sanskrit are more literary productions than histories. The history that these poets give is not mere chronicle of events but it is infused with life and blood.[1] These works, which are designated as 'Historical *kavyas*' in the history of Sanskrit literature, have their own value as sources of history.

The poems which are not the biographies of kings and even those works which are not poetical can as well be reckoned as sources in so far as they contain references casually to names or events in the contemporary life of the authors. They throw welcome light on the topographical and geographical environments of the authors. Most of these works possess an introduction or a conclusion wherein the patrons and the teachers of the author, the circumstances which led the author to write the work, the date and place of the composition of the work are mentioned. Often the colophons of the works give valid information. The *Puranas* too have a distinct claim as sources.

As far as Karnataka is concerned there are, as at present known, only a handful of works which can be called quasi-historical for the entire period of Karnataka history. For the pre-Vijayanagar period, there are only two works: the *Vikramankadevacharita* of the Chalukya period and the *Gadyakarnamrita* of the Hoysala period. There are several such works distributed over the period of Vijayanagar. The number of works again is disappointing for the later history. Besides these and certain *Puranas*, there are, however, a number of literary or technical works which supply pieces of infor-

[1] Pathak, V. S.: *Ancient Historians of India*, Bombay, Asia, 1966.

mation through casual or stray references or through colophons. For the purpose of this paper only the literary works are taken note of.

The first work that gives glimpses of Karnataka history is the *Vikramankacharita* or the *Vikramankadevacharita*. The author Bilhana, who was a Kashmiri, came to the South and was honoured at the court of Vikramaditya VI, the Chalukya king of Kalyani. He recounts the exploits of the king and closes with the coronation (1076 A.D.). He gives his version of the circumstances that led Vikrmaditya to the imperial throne. Much of it is not accepted by historians.

A *Vidyachakravarti* who flourished in the court of the Hoysalas describes the life of Hoysala Narasimha II. The poet, whose real name was Kalakalabha, lived in the time of both Narasimha and his son Somesvara. In his work, *Gadyakarnamrita*, a literary piece in prose, he describes the life of Narasimha till the marriage of Somesvara.

Passing on to the Vijayanagar period, we come across the *Rajakalanirnaya*, attributed to Vidyaranya. It deals with the origin and and foundation of Vijayanagar and the reign of the first few emperors.

The *Sivatattvaratnakara* of Basavabhupala, the Keladi chief (1709), alludes to the founding of the Vijayanagar empire. It embodies the traditional account, and attributes the founding of the city to Vidyaranya himself. To that extent, it may be taken as supporting further the conclusion that Vidyaranya was one of the those founders responsible for the building of the city.[2] We learn therefrom[3] that the plan of Chakranagara (*i.e.*, Vidyanagara) was conceived by Vidyaranya-munisvara for Harihara. Vidyaranya, a devotee of *Srividya*, was very much agitated by the atrocities of the Muslims. He was looking forward to an opportunity to establish the supremacy of the Vedic ideals, and was waiting upon Lord Virupaksa near the lake Pampa. Harihara and Bukka who were in charge of the Treasury under Virabhadra of Orissa were on a *tirthayatra* because of their sorrow at the death of the king. They met Vidyaranya on their way and the three together built a new city with the blessings of the goddess. Harihara was installed as the first king; and all the enemies were defeated. The successors of Harihara are also mentioned there. The following twelve succeeded Harihara: Bukka, Harihara, Virupaksa, Bukka, Deva, Ramaraja, Virupaksa, Marapa, Rama, and Virupaksa. The total number of years of these kings is given as 232. Probably, it refers to the period of kingship. Seven emperors succeeded them:

2 *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1960, p, 323.

3 *Sivatattvaratnakara*. Vol. 1, ed.: S. Narayanasvami Sastri, Mysore, Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore, 1964. *Kallola* 4. *Taranga* 12, pages 293-8.

Praudha (regnal years 12), Vira Narasimha (10), Saluva Narasimha (12), Acyuta (3), Krishna (40), Sadasiva (2), and Ramaraja (24).

In regard to the above lists of successors, there appears to be some confusion. It is curious that even the list of the seven subsequent emperors is faulty though the kings were comparatively nearer in time to the author. The only fact in this context is that Ramaraya ruled for 24 years. At the end of the said *kallola*, he cites a *Vidyaranyakriti* as one of his sources. Probably, it may be the *Rajakalanirnaya*.

Turning to the next stage, we find the poem, *Madhuravijaya* or *Virakamparayacharita* by Gangadevi who was the wife of Kumara Kampana, the hero of the poem. She describes the conquest of Madhura carried out successfully (1365-70) by Kampana, the son of Bukka I. The poem opens with Kampana's starting from Vijayanagar on his campaign. On the way, we are told, the Sambuvaraya of Kanchi wss subdued. The poem breaks off after the mention of Kampa's charities at his victory over the Sultan of Madhura. The various aspects of the campaign, otherwise unknown, are given by Gangadevi who had accompanied the prince. Thus, historically, this poem enjoys a very important position.

The *Prapannamrita* of Anantarya, which relates the biographies of the *Acharyas* of Srivaishnavism, refers to political events which have a bearing on the Vijayanagar history. The event of the founding of Vijayanagar was contemporaneous with the lives of Pillai Lokacharya and Vedanta Desika. These *Acharyas* had to flee for life and for the preservation of the traditional knowledge against the onslaught of the Muslims. The image of Ranganatha at Srirangam was removed to Tirupati *via* Melkote, lest the invaders should destroy it. Gopana, a general in the army of Kampana, Anantarya says, freed Srirangam from the Muslim yoke and restored the Vishnu image to its proper place (1371). Repeating the verse glorifying the acts of Gopana, inscribed on the walls of the Srirangam temple, Anantarya tells us that it was composed by Vedanta Desika himself who was very much rejoiced at the deed of Gopana.

The achievements of Saluva Mangu, another great general in the army of Prince Kampana, is described by Rajanatha Dindima in his *Saluvabhyudaya*, which is our source for the next stage of Vijayanagar history. The poet, who was in the court of Saluva Narasimha, describes the family of his patron which occasions him to speak of Saluva Mangu. The poem describes the wars waged by Saluva Narasimha and we learn of the circumstances that led to the elevation of Narasimha from the rank of a general to that of the emperor of Vijayanagar. As there is no actual mention of his being the emperor, we must assume that the poem was written before that.

It appears rather peculiar that there should be no biography of Krishnadevaraya in Sanskrit. We are to pass on to the *Achyutaraya-*

bhyudaya which, by the way, gives some information about Krishnadevaraya. As an introduction, the poet speaks of the family of Achyuta. Thus we get certain references to Vira Narasimha and Krishnadevaraya, the brothers of Achyutaraya and their father Isvara. The coronation of Achyutaraya and the battles he fought form the main theme of the poem. It breaks off with a description of the entry of the emperor into the capital after the triumphant victory over Raichur. Some more information of the royal household as well as the political situation is provided by Tirumalamba. She portrays the marriage of Achyutaraya with Varadambika in her *Varadambikaparinayachampu*. These two poems add to our knowledge of the history of the Tuluva dynasty of Vijayanagar,

The later phase of Vijayanagar does not possess any work dealing with the period. The *Sivatattvaratnakara* and the *Prapannamrita* refer to certain historic events during the time of Ramaraya and his successors. Ramabhadramba, a gifted poetess, wrote the *Raghunathabhyudaya* delineating the life of Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore. It discloses certain aspects of the later Vijayanagar history as the Nayaka also had his part in the effort of preserving the empire against Muslim aggression. So does Yajnanarayana Dikshita's *Sahityaratnakara*. The author was the son of Govinda Dikshita who was a minister under Achyuta and Raghunatha, the Nayakas of Tanjore.

The *Sivatattvaratnakara* (completed in 1709 A.D.) contains a history of the Nayakas of Keladi. Basavabhupala I briefly sketches in this work the history of his predecessors in the family which originated in the early part of the 16th century, and brings it upto his own times. He speaks of the nation-wide tour of one of his ancestors, Sankanna Nayaka. It appears that this Nayaka, in the course of his peregrinations, had been to Delhi where he is said to have had a sword dual with Ankusa Khan, a general under the Delhi king. We are given to understand that the Khan felt that he had no parallel in the art. The Nayaka who was an adept in sword-fight, killed the Khan during the fight and was honoured by the king of Delhi. While recounting the life of Sadasiva Nayaka, Basavabhupala does not forget to record the services rendered by the Nayaka to the Vijayanagar empire under Aliya Ramaraya, in beseiging Bijapur and in vore-running the Kerala king.[4] The evidence for the faithful allegiance of Sivappa Nayaka is provided by Basavabhupala. This Nayaka took the cause of Sriranga who was almost the namesake emperor of Vijayanagar and attacked Vellore and routed the enemies. Sriranga was much pleased at this act of the Nayaka.

The *Sivatattvaratnakara*, though written by a royal hand, records

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[4] *Kallola* 5, *Taranga* 1 ff.

correctly only the events which are comparatively nearer in time to the author. Its chief importance lies in the fact that it is almost the only work giving the history of the family of a local chieftaincy in Karnataka.

Reference may be made to the drama, *Sevantikaparinaya*, written by Chokkanatha of Tanjore who visited Keladi and was honoured by Basavabhupala I. The poet dramatises the marriage of Sevantika, a Kerala princess, with Basavabhupala. We learn that it was enacted in the presence of the hero, in Subrahmanya town. He speaks of the father of Sevantika as having been vanquished by another chief in Kerala, Mitravarma of Malabar, who is not known from any other source.

Another work which may be referred to here is the *Virabhadravijayachampu* of Ekamra Dikshita. He describes the *rathotsava* of Virabhadra in Savanadurga, Magadi Taluk, Bangalore District. This gives the poet an occasion to speak of the family of the Yalahanka chiefs who patronised the temple. The poet was in the court of Mummadi Kempa Gowda (1705-1728). The poem is in five *ullasas*. Though it does not record any political event, its value lies in the fact that it gives the genealogy of the Gowdas of Bangalore. It traces the family back to the fifth predecessor (Hiriya Kempa).

Culturally, the people of Mysore have always been on the forefront. The two works, *Abhilashitarthachintamani* or the *Manasollasa* or the *Rajamanollasa* and the *Sivatattvaratnakara* are encyclopaedic in character, embodying chapters on the various branches of human pursuit from philosophy to games and pastime. The former was produced in the 12th century by Chalukya Somesvara III (1129-30) and the latter in the 18th century by Basavabhupala I (1709). The remark of Nilakanta Sastri regarding the earlier work applies to the latter as well: "No great merit is evident in the choice of topics or their sequence, though the work is valuable as a record of the state of knowledge on many topics at that time.[5]

A reference to the three works of the period of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar of Mysore may not be out of place here. The first of the works is the *Sritattvanidhi*. This is a work of painting. It contains more than 400 coloured paintings and about a hundred pages of drawings in black and white. The colour of the paintings is as new even today. The work goes under the name of the patron, but it is said that it belongs to the Mysore Chitrakara School of Arts. The illustrations are of deities of the Puranic pantheon. Curiously enough, it contains the illustrations of the *Ragas* and the drawings of the yogic poses. The relevant passages from authoritative texts, giving descriptions of the form *etc*., of the

5 *History of South India*, 3rd edn., OUP, 1966, p. 348.

given illustrations are provided along with them. It is divided into nine sections called *nidhis:* Saktinidhi, Vishnu, Siva, Brahma, Graha, Vaishnava, Saiva, Agama, Kautuka. An alphabetical index to the illustrations is provided.

The second work under reference is the *Sankhyaratnamala.* It is a very peculiar dictionary-like work. We find in the world things existing singly or in groups of certain fixed numbers. The work seeks to bring together all those things in the order of the numbers. First, those existing in ones, say, the sun, the moon, the earth and so on. Then follow those in twos, threes. Thus, the compiler, Mummadi Krishnaraja, goes up to record those in the group of the number 120. An alphabetical index to the key words is a very useful addition in it. Incidentally, it imbibes the nature of an encyclopaedia, for it brings within its compass, medicine, astrology and other sciences. A careful edition of this work bringing out the usefulness of the labour of the compiler is yet to be undertaken.

The third work, *Chadurangachakra*, is a small work. It belongs to the field of pastime. It gives the diagrams and instructions for a hundred varieties of dice play. As those types of dice play could be expected to have been in vogue among the people at large, its value in the study of the dice play is remarkable.

We have noticed here only those *kavyas* which are having a direct bearing on the history of Karnataka. Besides these, the biographies of religious teachers like, *Raghavendravijaya* and the *Basavapurana* cannot be belittled as sources.

In short, it must be accepted that there are enough literary material in Sanskrit to write a history of Karnataka. However, a curious fact which calls upon the scholars to bestow their attention with patience may be pointed out here. It is not only the works that are produced in the region that can be taken as sources of history of that region. Even the works written outside a region contain important, often crucial, information in regard to the region in question. As an example may be cited the *Rajatarangini* in relation to Karnataka history. While referring to the type of currency current at a particular time in Kashmir, Kalhana says that '*Padma tanka* coins of the Karnataka type' were in vogue. This piece of information has helped the students of numismatics in their study of the origin and spread of the coins.

The task of a historian in collecting the sources and in studying them is very onerous. Every type of work will have to be critically and carefully read through with tremendous patience. Even philosophical works contain materials for the historian to collect. As an example for this, reference may be made to the *Sources of*

6 The manuscripts of all these three monumental works of the last century are preserved in the library of the Oriental Research Institute, Mysore.

Karnataka History[7] wherein we find an extract from the *Bhashya* of Sankara. In the *Brahmasutrabhashya* of Sankara, the three names occur: Balavarma who is compared to a lion, Jayasimha and Krishnagupta. The kingdoms of all these three seemed to have been situated adjacent to one another. In the *Chandogyopanishad-bhashya* we find the name of Rajavarma, said to have been a great king and he seems to be contrasted with another king Purnavarma who, being a petty ruler, was endowed with good qualities. These stray references, of course, do not put the historian on any track. But the example is cited to show how a work which belongs to an entirely different type of literarure contains historical information and that it is necessary to peruse carefully even such texts.

[7] S. Srikanta Sastri : *Sources of Karnataka History*, vol. I , Mysore; University of Mysore, 1940, p. 55.

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Vachana Literature: A Historical Note

G. GURURAJACHAR

THE literary evidence of a period does make an indirect contribution to our knowledge of history, which can be underestimated easily. Indeed, it enables the historian to picture the social and religious milieu, in which the characters of history lived and moved.[1]

Literature, in brief, affords valuable glimpses of contemporary society, though quite often in a more idealistic than in a realistic manner. Literary evidence need not be taken at its face value : much is often left for inferences and surmises. What epigraphs supply us is just a skeleton ; and literature helps us to superpose that skeleton with economic and sociological flesh and cultural adornment. Many a time, literary evidence corroborates and supplements the evidence of inscriptions in an admirable manner.

The *Vachanas* literally mean spontaneous utterances, embodying the gamut of the experiences of the Virasaiva saints, the Saranas. Already by about the 11th century A.D., the *Vachanas*—well above the prosiness of prose and with the inspired voice of poetry—had crystallised in the writings of many Saranas, like those of Madara Channayya, Dohara Kakkayya, Devara Dasimayya and others.

Devara Dasimayya (980–1040 A.D.), for instance, uses in his *Vachanas* the ordinary living language of the peple, and expresses his profoundest experiences that move others to their depths. Indeed, Dasimayya has been rightly regarded as 'the first Architect of the *Vachana* literature, though not its pioneer.'[2] In his writings, we see the *Vachanas* in their maturity and strength.

In the latter half of the 12th century A.D., however, innumerable Saranas, both men and women, took a vigorous part in the religious and social revolution initiated and led by Basava (1160 A.D.) ; and their ideals and experiences came to be enshrined in this simple but profoundly moving language of the *Vachanas*, driving home their religious preaching straight to the heart of the common

[1] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Sources of Indian History*, p. 64.

[2] *Sri Basavesvara Eighth Centenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 439 (n. 3).

people. The Saranas were able to eliminate the artificial idiom of old Kannada poetry ; and the spoken language of the masses was ennobled, thus bringing about a revolution in Kannada literature.

The *Vachanakaras* are quite numerous ; and it is not possible, nor is it necessary, to mention all of them by name here. However, to mention only a few, Dasimayya, Basava, Allama, Akkamahadevi, Channabasava and Siddharama are important and popular names in this context.

This is not the place to discuss the poetic or literary merit of the *Vachanas* of various writers—such a discussion is not relevant in this context. Suffice it to say that all *Vachanas* do not possess the same poetic or literary merit ; nor is it pretended that they do. But some, notably those of Basava and Akkamahadevi, do have on them clear marks of poetry and fall 'into a definite pattern, if not always into a regular prosodic form'. Again, the majority could hardly scale the metaphysical heights of that great *Vachana* writer, Allama Prabhu.[3]

It may be added here that the main quality of the *Vachana* literature is 'honest and deep self-exploration'. The *Vachanakaras* hardly wrote anything 'that they did not deeply and personally experience'.[4]

Attempts have been made to study the *Vachanas* as a source for reconstructing the socio-religious history of that period (11th-12th century A.D.) ; they are studied as literature also. It is the main purpose of this article to show how these *Vachanas*, as a historical source, throw interesting light, by way of simile and analogy, on the economic life too.

A critical study of the *Vachanas* would show that their statements are often corroborated and supplemented by that of contemporary literature and epigraphy. We may as well note here a few *Vachanas* to illustrate this point.

Agriculture has been, through the centuries, the prime occupation in India, and the very backbone of the country's economy. Ancient Indian writers and thinkers[5] have advocated emphatically the uninterrupted pursuit of agriculture at any cost.

A few lines from the *Vachanas* of Allama and Siddarama may point to the great importance attached to agriculture, indicating the trend of contemporary thought. Mark the words of Allama :[6]

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 439.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Cf. Manu, VIII, 243 ; Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (Trn. by R. Shamasastry, 6th edn., Mysore, 1960, pp. 46–7).

[6] ಅ.ವ. [ಅಲ್ಲಮನ ವಚನ ಚಂದ್ರಿಕೆ (ಸಂ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು, ಮೈಸೂರು, ೧೯೬೦], ೪೧೩, ಪು. ೯೦.

“ಬಿತ್ತಿದ ಬೆಳೆಯುವ ತುಂಬಿದ ರಾಶಿಯ ಕಂಡಲ್ಲಿ, ಸುಖಿಯಾಗಿ ಸಿಂದವರಾರೋ? ಇದ ಹೇಳಲೂ ಬಾರದು, ಕೇಳಲೂ ಬಾರದು.

In the words of Siddharama :[7] “ ಕೃಷಿಯ ಮಾಡಿ ಉಣ್ಣದೆ ಹಸಿವು ಹರಿವ ಪರಿಯಿನ್ನೆಂತೊ?

Inscriptions often refer to cultivators as *'okkala-makkalu'*,[8] and do admire them.[9]

The methods and techniques of agriculture have hardly undergone any change through the centuries ; in brief, there were no striking differences from what we are familiar with today.

The inscriptional evidence is of little help in describing with any precision the various processes of cultivation—tillage to storage, so to say—prevailing during that period.

A *Vachana* of Allama,[10] interestingly enough, throws some light on this aspect. It runs :

ತನುವ ತೋಂಟವ ಮಾಡಿ, ಮನವ ಗುದ್ದಲಿ ಮಾಡಿ, ಅಗೆದು
ಕಳೆದೆನಯ್ಯ ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಯ ಬೇರೊಡೆದು. ಸಂಸಾರದ ಹೆಂಟೆಯ
ಬಗಿದು, ಬಿತ್ತಿದೆನಯ್ಯ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಬೀಜವ. ಅಖಂಡ ಮಂಡಲವೆಂಬ
ಭಾವಿ, ಪವನವೇ ಜಾಟಾಳ, ಸುಷುಮ್ನ ನಾಳದಿಂದವೆ ಉದಕವ
ತಿದ್ದಿ, ಬಸವಗಳೈವರು ಹಸಗೆಡಿಸಿಹರೆಂದು ಸಮತೆ
ಸೈರಣೆಯೆಂಬ ಬೇಲಿಯನಿಕ್ಕಿ, ಆವಾಗಳೂ ಈ ತೋಟದೊಳಗೆ
ಜಾಗರವಿದ್ದು ಈ ಸಸಿಯ ಸಲಹಿದೆ ಕಾಣಾ,
ಗೋಗೇಶ್ವರ.

Needless to say, the above *Vachana* refers, by way of analogy, to the various processes of cultivation—ploughing the fields to remove the stumps, sowing the seed, supplying water to the growing plants, protection of the crops, etc.

The textile industry—one of the important and ancient industries in India—flourished considerably in mediaeval Karnataka, as testified to by contemporary evidence. It is worth remembering in this context that Devara Dasimayya, one of the well-known *Vachanakaras*, was a weaver ; and a *Vachana* of his describes how cloth was woven. It runs :[11]

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7 ಶ್ರೀ ಸಿದ್ಧರಾಮೇಶ್ವರ ವಚನಗಳು (ಸಂ. ಆರ್. ಸಿ. ಹಿರೇಮಠ, ಧಾರವಾಡ, ೧೯೬೮), ೫೧೨, ಪು. ೧೫೨.

8 *BKI*, I, ii, 138 (1093 A.D.) ; 156 (1105 A.D.).

9 *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Kd. 28 (1153 A.D.).

10 Cf. ಅ.ವ., ೮೧೨, ಪು. ೧೮೭–೧.

ನಯಸೇನ, ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ, ೧೨-೨೪, ಪು. ೧೧೬.
“. . . .ಕೆಯ್ಯಂತೆ ಕೆಯ್ಯುಬುಮೆಯಂತೆ (ಕೆಯ್ಯೊಳ್)
ಪದಂಬಡೆವಂತೆ ಬಿತ್ತಣದಂತೆ ಸಸಿಯಂತೆ ಪೊಡೆಯಂತೆ
ಪಾಲ್ದೆನೆಯಂತೆ ಕೊಯ್ಲಾದಂತೆ ಸೂಡಿನಂತೆ ಕಳಕ್ಕೆವರ್ಪಂತೆ
ಒಕ್ಕಣದಂತೆ ರಾಶಿಯಂತೆ. . . .”

11 ದೇ.ದಾ.ಪ್ರ. (ದೇವರ ದಾಸಿಮಾರ್ಯ ಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು, ೧೯೫೨), ೧೪೮, ಪು. ೧೩೨.

ಉಂಕಿಯ ನಿಗುಚಿ
ಸರಿಗೆಯ ಸಮಗೊಳಿಸಿ
ಸಮಗಾಲನಿಕ್ಕಿ ಅಣಿಯೊಳು ಏಳಮೆಟ್ಟದೆ
ಹಿಡಿದ ಲಾಳಿಯ ಮುಳ್ಳು ಕಂಡಿಕೆಯ ನುಂಗಿತ್ತು
ಈ ಸೀರೆಯ ನೈದವ ನಾನೋ ನೀನೋ ರಾಮನಾಥ ?

Reference is found in a *Vachana* of Allama[12] to the work of tailoring, i.e. stitching the cloth with the help of the hand-needle (*suji*) and thread (*dara*) :

"......ಸೂಜಿಯ ಪೋಣಿಸಿ ದಾರವ ಮುಱಿದಡೆ
ಹೊಲಿಗೆ ಬಿಚ್ಚಿತ್ತು ಗುಹೇಶ್ವರ."

Inscriptions[13] of that period clearly indicate that tailoring had even developed into a skilled art ; they also refer to the guilds of tailors (*Chippiga-gottali*).

We may as well remember here one of the *Vachanakaras*, Sujikayakada-Ramitande (c. 1160 A.D.),[14] whose profession (*kayaka*) was needle-work.

Sugarcane, a crop of considerable commercial value, was cultivated in large quantities (wherever there was a plentiful supply of water and suitable soil for its growth). In the sources of that period—inscriptional as well as literary—we often meet with fine descriptions of the sugarcane crop standing in the fields.

A *Vachana* of Basava[15] refers, by way of comparison, to the jackals causing damage to the standing sugarcane crop -

"ಕಬ್ಬ ತಿಂದ ನರಿಯಂತೆ ಹಿಂದಕ್ಕೆಳಸದಿರಾ, ಮನವೇ"

Indeed, an epigraph[16] of 1156 A.D. alludes to elephants that used to cause damages to the sugarcane crop standing in the fields. That the production of jaggery (*bella*) and sugar (Kan. *Sakkare*>Skt. *Sarkara*)—one of the important Indian industries since early times[17] was widespread during that period becomes clear from the references in the epigraphs[18] to a certain tax (*aledere*) levied on this industry. However, the evidence of epigraphs hardly helps

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12 ಅ.ವ., ೪೦೮, ಪು. ೯೨. ನೋಡಿ: ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ, ೧೪, ೧೨೪, ಪು. ೨೩೨.
"ಸೂಜಿಯ ಬೞಿಯ ದಾರದಂತೆ", ೩.೭೩, ಪು. ೧೧೧.
"ಸಿಪ್ಪಿಗನಂತೆ ಪೊಲಿವರ್" ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ.

13 *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 112 ; V, Bl. 236 (supplement)—both of 1139 A.D.

14 ಆರ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್, ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಕವಿಚರಿತೆ, ೧, ಪು. ೨೨೨.

15 ಬ.ವ. (ಬಸವಣ್ಣನವರ ಷಟ್ಸ್ಥಳದ ವಚನಗಳು—ಸಂ. ಶಿ. ಶಿ. ಬಸವನಾಳ, ಧಾರವಾಡ, ೧೯೫೪), ೨೭೩, ಪು. ೬೯.
ಹೋಲಿಸಿ : "ಕಬ್ಬಿನ ತೋಂಟಮಂ ನರಿ ಪೊಕ್ಕಂತೆ" ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ,
೨.೭೧, ಪು. ೫೯, ೨೭೩, ಪು. ೬೯.

16 *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, Sb. 175.

17 Read : *Sugar Industry in Ancient India*—by J. C. Ray, *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1918), Vol. IV, pp. 435–454.

18 *Ep. Carn.*, X, Kl. 110 ; VI, Pt. IV, Kd. 49, etc.

us to know the various processes involved in the production of sugar.

But, a *Vachana* of Akka-Mahadevi[19] supplies as with the required details—

"ಸಂದು ಸಂದನು ಕಡಿದ ಕಬ್ಬನು ತಂದು ಗಾಣದಲಿಕ್ಕಿ
ಆರೆದಡೆ ಬೆಂದು ಪಾಕಗೊಳ ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯಾಗಿ ನೊಂದೆನೆಂದು
ಸವಿಯ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿತ್ತೇ ? —machines, called '*gana*'

were set up to crush pieces of sugarcane and extract their juice, which was then distilled to yield sugar.

It is not known, however, how the sugarcane juice was clarified and refind to produce sugar. Sugar looked like sand-grains (*malalu*) :

"ಹಾಲ ತೊಱೆಗೆ ಬೆಲ್ಲದ ಕೆಸಱು, ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯ ಮಳಲು"[20]

A *Vachana* of Allama seems to refer to sugar-candy (*Sakkareya-danda*) also :

"ಇಕ್ಷುದಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಕೀಳು ಮೇಲಲ್ಲದೆ, ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯ
ದಂಡಕ್ಕೆ ಕೀಳು ಮೇಲುಂಟೆ ?"[21]

The oil-seeds like sesamum (*ellu*), castor (*haralu*) etc., were pressed in the oil-mills (*gana*) and their oil was extracted.[22] There is reason to believe that some process of producing perfumed oil was also known :

"ಎಳ್ಳಿಂಗೆ ಪರಿಮಳವ ಕಟ್ಟದಲ್ಲದೆ,
ಎಣ್ಣೆಗೆ ಪರಿಮಳವೇಧಿಸದು." [23]

Bamboo (*bidiru*) was used in the production of many articles, such as baskets, umbrellas, palanquins, etc. Basava[24] observes :

"ಬಿದಿರಲಂದಣವಕ್ಕು, ಬಿದಿರೆ ಸತ್ತಿಗೆಯಕ್ಕು,
ಬಿದಿರಲ್ಲಿ ಗುಡಿಯು ಗೂಡಾರವಕ್ಕು ;
ಬಿದಿರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಕಲಸಂಪದವೆಲ್ಲವು !
ಬಿದಿರದವರ ಮೆಚ್ಚ ನಮ್ಮ ಕೂಡಲ ಸಂಗಮದೇವ."

Medara Ketayya, one of the Saranas, was a basket-maker (*meda*) by profession, producing articles such as baskets, mats, etc. Inscriptions[25] often refer to a certain tax on this craft (*meda-dere*), as also to the guilds of basket-makers (*gavares*).

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19 ಅಕ್ಕ.ವ. (ಅಕ್ಕನ ವಚನಗಳು—ಸಂ. ಎಲ್. ಬಸವರಾಜು, ಮೈಸೂರು, ೧೯೬೬), ೫೮, ಪು. ೨೮.

20 ಬ.ವ., ೨೯೦, ಪು. ೭೩—ನೋಡಿ: ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ, ೧೧, ೧೦.೪೩, ಪು. ೧೮ : "ಸಕ್ಕರೆಯನೊಲ್ಲದೆ ಮಳಲಂ ಮೆಲ್ವ."

21 ಅ.ವ., ೧೨೧೯, ಪು. ೨೬೬.

22 ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ, ೧, ೯.೧೨೦, ಪು. ೪೪೨.

23 ಅ.ವ., ೧೦೮೫, ಪು. ೨೩೯ ; ಹರಿಹರ, ಬಸವರಾಜದೇವರ ರಗಳೆ, ಪು. ೮೭, ಕಮ್ಮೆಣ್ಣೆ (scented oil).

24 ಬ.ವ., ೨೨೧, ಪು. ೫೬ ; ನೋಡಿ : ವಿಜ್ಞಾನೇಶ್ವರ, ಮಿತಾಕ್ಷರಾ, I, ೧೮೨.

25 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Hs. 137 ; VII, Sk. 118 ; *KI.*, II, 38, etc.

Gold-mining operations in Karnataka may be traced to a very ancient period. During the mediaeval period, particularly, mining seems to have been a well understood and widely practised industry in Karnataka, as indicated by contemporary evidence.[26]

Akka alludes to the extraction of reef gold (ಶಿಲೆಯ ಮರೆಯ ಹೇಮದಂತೆ), as does Brahmasiva[27], a well-known Jaina poet of the 12th century A.D.

Furthermore, Basava, Allama and others allude to the alluvial gold washing (ಜಲಗು, ಜರಗು) along the beds and banks of rivers. Basava remarks :[28]

"ಎನ್ನ ಮನವು ನಿಧಾನವನೊಲ್ಲದೆ
ಜಲಗ ಮಚ್ಚಿತ್ತು ನೋಡಾ !"

Allama serves :[29]

"ಮೇರು ಮಂದಿರದೊಳಗಿದ್ದು ಜರಗ ತೊಳೆವ ಚಿಂತೆಯೇಕೆ ?

In the North-Western parts of Mysore State, we are told, particularly in the Shimoga District alluvial gold occurs as minute particles distributed along the beds and banks of the rivers Tunga and Bhadra, and their tributaries flowing through and draining the auriferous tracts.[30]

Again, alluvial gold washing in the Gadag (Dharwar District) area, by the local gold-washers (*Jalagaras*), is said to have been prevalent for generations; and many signs of washing for gold are evident near most of the old works.[31]

A Gadag record[32] of 1126 A.D., interestingly enough, refers to a certain tax called '*jaragina-tere*'—which seems to have been a tax levied on this industry—and to an official called '*jalaginadhikari*', who was to collect this particular tax. It looks probable that many people should have taken to this industry as a profession.

Mirrors were made of bronze. That a plate of bronze, rubbed and polished, served as a mirror becomes evident from a *Vachana* of Basava :[33]

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26 See *Abhilashitartha-Chintamani* of Somesvara (Ed: R. Shamasastry, Mysore, 1926), I, 337–364, pp. 73–76.

27 ಸಮಯ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ (ಸಂ. ಬಿ. ಎಸ್. ಕುಲಕರ್ಣಿ, ಧಾರವಾಡ, ೧೯೫೮), ೪.೧೫೬, ಪು. ೮೬.
"ಕಲ್ಲೊಳ್ಳಿಸುಗುವ ಪೊಂಪುಟ್ಟಿ....", ೧೫.೨೯, ಪು. ೩೩೬—"ಕನಕಂ ಕಲ್ಲೊಳಗಿಂ ತೆಗೆವಡೆ ತನ್ನಂ ತಾಟಿ ತಾಪನಕ್ರಿಯೆವೇಳ್ಕುಂ ; also *SII.*, IX, i, 249 (1147 A.D.) etc.

28 ಬ.ವ., ೩೧, ಪು. ೯.

29 ಅ.ವ., ೧೮೩, ಪು. ೨೫—ನೋಡಿ : ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ, I, ೪.೩೩, ಪು. ೧೫೨.
"ಜರಗನೊಯ್ಯಸೆ ಕರ್ಚಿರಾಶಿಯ ಮಣ್ಣೊಳೊಪ್ಪುವ ಪೊನ್ನನಚ್ಚರಿಯೆನಲ್ ನೆರೆ ಕಾಣ್ಬವೊಲ್." ಸಮಯ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ, ೧.೧೩೧, ಪು. ೨೪ನ್ನೂ ನೋಡಬಹುದು.

30 *Gold Mining Industry in India* (Geological Society of India—Memoir, 1, Bangalore, 1963), p. 28.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 108.

32 *BKI.*, I, ii, 200.

33 ಬ.ವ., ೮೬೦, ಪು. ೨೨೬ ; ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ, ೨.೨೬, ಪು. ೫೧ನ್ನೂ ನೋಡಬಹುದು.

"ಉಂಬ ಬಟ್ಟಲು ಬೇಱೆ ಕಂಚಲ್ಲ ; ನೋಡುವ ದರ್ಪಣ ಬೇರೆ ಕಂಚಲ್ಲ ;
ಭಾಂಡ ಒಂದೆ, ಭಾಜನ ಒಂದೆ ; ಬೆಳಗೆ ಕನ್ನಡಿಯೆನಿಸಿತ್ತಯ್ಯಾ !"

Infact, ancient Indians did not know how to make looking-glasses. India, we are told, began to import foreign European glasses from 1550 A.D. onwards.[34]

'*Sante*', or shandy—the coming together of a large number of buyers and sellers, at a definite place and on a definite day—was a centre of business, which played an important role in fostering internal trade. During the middle ages, '*Santes*' developed as an important form of 'inter-local trade organisation'.[35]

That such '*Santes*' used to be filled with noise—created by hundreds of buyers and sellers—is indicated by a remark of Akka :[36]

"ಸಂತೆಯೊಳಗೊಂದು ಮನೆಯ ಮಾಡಿ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ನಾಚಿದಡೆಂತಯ್ಯ ?"

—having an abode in the midst of a crowded fair, what avails it if the noise is bemoaned ?

As is perhaps the case in all countries and at all times, evasion of taxes was often resorted to.

Dasimayya observes :[37]

"ಹರಿದ ಗೋಣಿಯಬೊಬ್ಬ ಕಳವೆಯ ತುಂಬಿದ
ಇರುಳೆಲ್ಲ ನಡೆದನಾ ಸುಂಕಕ್ಕಂಜಿ
ಕಳವೆಯೆಲ್ಲ ಹೋಗಿ ಬರಿಯ ಗೋಣಿ ಉಳಿದಿತ್ತು !"

Basava[38] remarks ;

"ಭಾಂಡವ ತುಂಬಿದ ಬಳಿಕ ಸುಂಕವ ತೆತ್ತಲ್ಲದೆ
ವಿರಹಿತ ಹೋಗಬಾರದು."

Indeed, Vijnanesvara[39] observes that a trader who conceals the real quantity of a commodity with the object of defrauding the customs-officer or skulks from the toll-officer should be fined eight times the amount of the value of the commodity.

The foregoing treatment of this subject is by no means exhaustive. Suffice it to say that it is possible to gather more minute details, pertaining to various aspects of contemporary life, from the *Vachanas*. This particular source has not been exploited

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34 B. P. Majumdar, *Socio-economic History of Northern India* (Calcutta 1960), pp. 203–4.

35 A Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India* (Madras, 1936), I, p. 416.

36 ಅಕ್ಕ.ವ., ೧೦೬, ಪು. ೪೫.

37 ದಾ.ಪ್ರ., ೧೮, ಪು. ೧೦೮.

38 ಬ.ವ., ೧೯೮, ಪು. ೫೦—ನೋಡಿ : ಧರ್ಮಾಮೃತಂ, I, ೩.೪೬, ಪು. ೧೦೪ ; ೭.೬೧, ಪು. ೩೧೨ ; II, ೧೩.೧೮೫, ಪು. ೨೦೪ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ.

39 *The Mitakshara*, II, 262.

fully by historians, to the extent it really deserves. Indeed, a critical and scientific study of the *Vachana* literature is amply rewarding.

NOTE: All the *Vachanas* are capable of a metaphysical and a symbolic significance. An attempt is made here to interpret the *Vachanas* in a literary manner—concentrating attention on the verbal significance of words.

27

Mackenzie and his Collections

V. G. KRISHNAMURTHI

In the latter part of the eighteenth century there came to India an Inspector of customs from Hebredes to join the Madras contingent stationed at Fort St. George. This man was Colonel Colin Mackenzie, the famous Mackenzie of the 'Collections'. His life is interesting on account of his many-sided attainments.

Colin was born in 1754 at Stornoway in the Western Islands of Scotland. As a youth he had a passion for discovery and acquisition of knowledge. He was greatly interested in Mathematics. Lord Napier who was writing a biography on his ancestor John Napier, the inventor of the English Logarithms, had employed him to collect all available information on Mathematics possessed by Hindus in general and the nature and use of their Logarithms in particular. This was Mackenzie's first job as a collector. He had brought with him letters of introduction to the Governor of Madras, Lord Macartney and to Mrs. Hester Johnston, the scholarly wife of Samuel Johnston serving the East India Company at Madura. She was the daughter of Lord Napier and, like her father, was studying Hindu Logarithms. She had for her assistance a number of Brahmin scholars whose vast learning convinced Mackenzie that valuable materials for a history of India could be collected with their help. In fact it was during this visit to Madura that the idea of collecting historical documents occurred to him.

Mackenzie joined the Madras Establishment as an Engineer in 1783. The first thirteen years of his career (1783-96) is summed up in his own letter dated 1st Feb., 1817 addressed to his friend Sir Alexander Johnston: "For these thirteen years there is little to shew beyond the journals and notes of an officer employed in all the campaigns of the time, first towards the close of war of 1783 in the provinces of Coimbatore and Dindigul, afterwards in professional duties in the provinces of Madras, Nellore and Goontoor; throughout the whole of the war from 1790 to 1792 in Mysore; and in the countries ceded to the Nizam by the peace of 1792; and from that period engaged in the first attempt to methodise and embody the geography of the Deccan." It is evident from the above extract that Mackenzie's activities as a military Engineer were confined to the

Deccan. When he joined the Madras contingent, the English were entering into the final phase of their campaigns against Mysore. In January 1790 he was detailed to make a complete survey of the Guntur circar, but as war broke out with Mysore he joined the army under General Meadows and took part in the siege of Palaghat (1790). During the campaign he kept a journal of the marches of General Meadows' army. Later in June 1793 he took part in the siege of Pondicherry.

In the 18th century warfare the army Engineers belonged to the first line of defence. They had to reconnoitre and find safe routes for the marches, certify the vantage of the site for battle and above all perform the important task of setting guns for breaching forts upon which the onslaught and victory depended. "They were men who led forlorn hopes against walls that were thought to be impregnable." They died so that others might enjoy the fruits of victory. Mackenzie belonged to such a corps. He was present at the siege of Bangalore on 21st March 1791 and was with the storming party. The *Madras Courier* on 3rd Nov. 1791, writing about the capture of Bangalore, said: "Lieutenant Mackenzie in his department demonstrated, by his success in pursuing the object, how essentially necessary it is that the practical Engineering should unite art with science."

When Lord Wellesley ordered General Stuart to enter Mysore for the final phase of the war with Tipu Sultan, Mackenzie was attached to the Nizam's regiment and engaged in survey work. For some time he was called away on military duty to Ceylon and, after its annexation in 1796, was engaged there to put the fortifications in order. As his services were useful he was asked to join the Nizam's army marching towards Mysore. The Grand Army which gave battle to the Sultan comprised of General Harris' army, the Bombay army under General Stuart and the Nizam's army. The Chief Engineer attached to the Nizam's army was Colin Mackenzie. He describes the journey from Hyderabad to Ambur as follows: "From the intimate knowledge acquired by these surveys, I was enabled to suggest a plan of the march. After crossing the *Krishna* and approaching Tipu's frontier I voluntarily took charge of the duty of exploring the country some marches in front, of clearing the roads through defiles not before marched with carriages, and of ascertaining the best stages and watering places."

On 1st April General Harris encamped near Srirangapatna. His army was alert. The 4th of May was fateful for the Sultan. Mackenzie had an important role to play in the siege, a role as important as that of General David Baird who plunged into the river for the final attack. The enfilading batteries constructed by Mackenzie, being exactly placed, silenced every gun on the ramparts. This enabled the

assaulting party to cross the river and ascend to the top of the breach in seven minutes.

After the fall of Srirangapatna, Mackenzie was appointed to survey Mysore which he finished by 1807 "from an enirely new foundation" embracing the statistics, history of the country as well as its geography. He was appointed as Surveyor General for Madras in 1810. In the British conquest of Java he played an eminent part which enhanced his prestige. He explored the island in the capacity of the President of the committee appointed to collect data. He was 58 when he married in Java Petronella Jacomina Bartelo, a Dutch lady. Probably she was of a literary disposition and might have helped him in the translation of Dutch papers.

Mackenzie's ever increasing thirst for knowledge took him on a journey into the heart of India after his arrival at Calcutta from Java in 1813. He visited Varanasi, Lucknow, Agra and Delhi adopting the method as usual of preserving notes, memoranda, memoirs and journals and collecting ancient coins, manuscripts, inscriptions and sculptures. In the year 1815 he was made Surveyor-General of India, a place which he richly deserved and in the next year he was decorated with the most Honourable Military Order of the Bath. He had reached the heights of fame. However, he seems to have been unwilling to tear himself from Madras where all his interests were centred ever since he joined the East India Company. "The disorganisation of his affairs, and especially of his 'collection' interest was too much for his mental poise." Joining his new post at Calcutta in 1817 he kept close watch on the work of the survey department, but never lost touch with his friend Mountford at Madras to whom he wrote frequently about his work and deteriorating health. He was elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1819 and in the same year was promoted as Colonel. His old friend Sir Alexander Johnston was protecting his interests and had persuaded the Court of Directors of the East India Company to allow him to return to England on leave and had impressed on them the desirability of permitting him to have the leisure to pay attention to the collections.

Unfortunately Mackenzie had neither the leisure nor the health to examine and work upon the collection he had made. Early in 1821 he wrote to Mountford that he was confined to bed. In the same year he died, worn out by unremitting toil with his hopes unrealised and his plans unfulfilled. He had collected his treasure for the use of posterity.

As Surveyor General, Mackenzie tried to formulate one uniform system for all surveyors. He was himself a master topographical surveyor and an outstanding geographer. Having surveyed the frontier regions to the south of the Nizam's territory between the

river *Pennar* and *Krishna*, it was his intention to prepare a general map of the Nizam's dominions. The great Mysore Survey remains a monument to his outstanding skill and thoroughness as a surveyor. B. Lewis Rice who compiled a Gazetteer (1876) for the Mysore Government intimates that while Hamilton Buchanan was travelling from Madras to Coorg through the territory of Mysore, Colonel Colin Mackenzie, surveying Mysore, was allowed only three assistants with a medical officer as surgeon and naturalist, and that the result of the survey was not only a valuable contribution to geographical knowledge but considerable materials were collected of the statistics and history of the country. Rice observes, "These were recorded in folio volumes transmitted to the East India Company. Copies of eight volumes, attested by Colonel Mackenzie's signature, are deposited among the records of the Mysore Residency." But these are not available now.

Mackenzie's method of triangulation in survey work was unique by itself. He measured five bases in the Mysore Survey and connected them by triangles. This topographical survey comprised 40,000 square miles measured to precision. His abilities as an archaeologist, statistician and linguist were also remarkable: He was commissioned by Governor Raffles in Java to investigate and report about the ruins of Boro Bodur. He worked with Baker in the excavation of the temple and has left illustrations showing the state of the ruins in 1812. The "Statistical Memoirs on Java proposed by Colonel Mackenzie" gives a comprehensive review of the prevailing conditions of the islands at that time. He collected the vocabularies "of the different diatects of the Javanese and also the principal language of the Eastern seas."

The interest Lord Napier created in Mackenzie for oriental research kept him alive to it throughout life. A large part of his collections was collected by himself and the remainder, by his assistants. Even Folk tales told in naive fashion were sent to him by his collectors. He was so much interested in Indian antiquities that he had spent about £15,000 (1½ lakh rupees) for their purchase. He was fortunate in the band of assistants who helped him in his researches. He had in his employment Cavelly Venkata Boriah, a Telugu poet and scholar, who was with him in the siege of Srirangapatna. During the 7 years he served Mackenzie, Boriah discovered ancient coins, made facsimilies of inscriptions and deciphered a Halagannada inscription. After Boriah's death, scholars in the establishment of Mackenzie were C. V. Lachmya (Lakshmiah), Head Interpreter and Translator; Abdul Aziz and another, Persian Translators; Baskeiah (Basaviah ?) and two others, Kannada Interpreters; Moba Row (Mobala Rao ?) and Seva Row (Shiva Rao), Mahratta Interpreters; Ramaswamy, brother of Lachmya, Telugu Interpreter and

Swaramiah (Shivaramiah ?), Sanskrit Interpreter.

There are evidences to show that, as a collector, Colin Mackenzie shared his knowledge with others. Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote to Colonel Mackenzie for information which he proposed to use for his *History of India*. Elphinstone's history was posthumously published in 1887. In his *History of Mysore* Colonel Marks Wilks acknowledges his indebtedness to Mackenzie's collections. In fact one of the authorities cited by Wilks is Mackenzie's *Sketches of the War with Tippoo Sultan* in 2 vols. This work has disappeared altogether.

Amidst his busy life as soldier, surveyor and collector of antiquities Mackenzie had still the time to contribute articles to magazines. They appeared in *Oriental Repertory*, *Asiatic Annual Register*, *Asiatic Researches*, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and *The Madras Journal of Literature and Science*. His article on the roads from Nellore to Western passes and to Ongole appeared in the *Oriental Repertory*. A portion of his *Life of Hyder Ali* appeared in the *Asiatic Annual Register (Vol. VI, 1804)*. Material for this work had been obtained from a paper found in the Paymaster's office at Nellore. 'M.M.D.L.T.', the French General in the army of the Mogul Empire who wrote the *History of Hyder Shah* (Published by W. Thacker & Co,, London, 1855) acknowledges materials taken from "Captain Mackenzie's work regarding the Domains of the late Tippoo Sultan." In the same volume of the *Asiatic Annual Register* appeared the sketches of the kings of Anegondi based on the verbal account of Thimmappa, the representative of the family living at Coimbatore when Mackenzie visited him in 1801; a history of the Vijayanagar kings obtained at Anegondi in the same year; an account of the Marda (Madhva) gurus collected by him at Harihara; and an account of of the 'Batta Rajas' of Nidugal. The most important of his contributions to journals is his essay on the Jain religion and philosophy of which he believed himself to be the first European discoverer.

When the Directors of the East India Company discovered the worth of Colin Mackenzie's collections they recommended: "Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie should himself digest and improve the materials he has collected and we hope the office you have conferred on him in Mysore will afford him leisure for work. After he has accomplished it, the original materials are to be transmitted to us to be deposited in our Oriental Museum."

Mackenzie's wish in regard to his collections may be told in his own words: "I . . . hope in this last stage, preparatory to my return to Europe, to draw a succinct view of the whole collection and prepare a catalogue raisonne of the native manuscripts, books, etc., and also to give the translated materials such form as may facilitate the

production of some parts, should they ever appeal to the public, at least by persons better qualified, if the grateful task be not permitted to my years, or to my state of health." In 1819 he wrote from Calcutta to his friend Mountford at Madras expressing his fear that the 'whole of the vestiges of antiquity' removed would be lost and that he should have taken Mr. Strachey's advice in 1817 to apply for the protection of Government to save them from destruction and that he had no suspicion then that they would be 'transported bodily in a lump.' Mackenzie continued his hobby of collecting antiquities to the very end of his life, for it is stated in a report relating to the completion of the Travancore survey that he was receiving monthly communications from his researchers employed in the collection of materials for a general history of the country.

It took Mackenzie 40 years to collect his oriental treasure. Their history after his death deserves our attention: In the *Bengal Despatches* of 29th October 1823, the East India Company directed the Madras Government to make provisions for the families of certain deceased scholars who served Mackenzie, allow Lachmya a pension, provide passage for Mackenzie's Javanese writer to his own country and employ the Establishment of translators and writers from Fort St. George in completing the catalogue and analysis of the various MSS, inscriptions and grants collected by Colonel Mackenzie in the Deccan. In the same year the East India Company claimed certain translations made from Dutch papers as belonging to Government on the ground that they were translated at Government expense. There is also an acknowledgement by the Directors at London of certain MSS which they accepted as "splendid monuments of antiquity."

It is often the case that monuments of antiquity pass into obscurity once they are neglected. But before this happened, Mackenzie's widow took care to profit by her late husband's collections. With the help of her Calcutta solicitors, Messrs. Palmer & Co., she made a deal with the East India Company whereby the Governor General was authorised to purchase the collections for a lakh of Rupees (about £10,000). This sum was evidently for the *main* collections only. There were two parcels which the Calcutta Government purchased from the executrix. Hodgson, who succeeded Mackenzie as Surveyor General was not interested in antiquity. However, Dr. H. H. Wilson, the great Sanskrit Scholar undertook to examine the huge collection. The MSS and other articles were transferred to his charge. In 1923 and later most of the Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Javanese and Burmese books and collections and also coins, images, carved stone work and other works of art were sent to London by batches. The coins and other museum pieces were lodged in 1880 in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Wilson's Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collections (the main Collections) appeared in 1828 in two volumes. It is a scholarly and painstaking work. A second edition of it came in 1882. After the first publication of Wilson's Catalogue, the MSS at Madras were placed in the Library of the Madras College. For some time they remained heaped up in confused mass and completely neglected. It occurred to the Madras Literary Society that something should be done about it. But the Society had no funds for their arrangement and for their publication. In 1837 Rev. William Taylor of the Madras Literary Society and auxiliary Royal Asiatic Society was requested to "examine, collate and, as far as needful, restore the Mackenzie MSS confided to him by authority of Government."

Taylor sent his first report on 28th September 1837. It is full of interest: He mentions that "some papers and portions of papers are irrecoverably lost, either by fading of ink or destruction of materials by insects." In some cases whole papers or parts of papers were cut out by persons unknown. His analysis of the MSS is masterly, though his difficulties enormous. Palm leaf manuscripts in some cases were eaten through by insects; some were illegible. There was the difficulty of assessing their values as to which were important and which were less important. His treatment of the MSS is sound: where the narrative is unconfirmed by historical records, he accepted at once as historical such traditions as do not conflict with the known facts of history, internal evidence being satisfactory. The MSS are in several Indian languages including Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi and Sanskrit. There are plain narrations as well as narrations veiled by fable, metaphor and symbol, through which Taylor had to look for facts. One palm-leaf MS in Tamil contains the history of the Coimbatore country down to 17th century; several documents are concerned with Jainism in which Mackenzie was interesred; there are accounts of the Mahratta kings, historical romance and stories in the guise of fiction and symbolism, a Malayalam MS describing the customs and traditions of the Kerala country, an account of Tanjore in Telugu and many other documents which constitute a store-house of information.

The colossal notes and translations which Colonel Colin Mackenzie amassed are so numerous that they occupy no less than 570 pages in the catalogue prepared by Rev. Taylor. According to Prof. H. H. Wilson's catalogue, in terms of numbers only, Mackenzie had collected 1568 manuscripts of literary works, 2,070 local tracts, 8076 copies of inscriptions, 2150 translations, 2709 plans and drawings, 6218 coins and 146 images and antiquities. The manuscripts reported upon by Taylor are in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras. These and other manuscripts in the India House, London

have been a source of inspiration for scholars and have proved of immense value to the students of oriental research. As Markham well remarks, "our knowledge of the literature and early history of South India is almost entirely due to the Mackenzie manuscripts."

28

Kaifiyats in Kannada

G. VARADARAJA RAO

THE task of a historian is beset with many difficulties. He has to reconstruct the past with the available source materials. Generally he relies upon the evidences which are contemproaray nearre to the period he is dealing. Inscriptions, incised both on stones and copper plates, and to some extent the good number of coins are considered to be very reliable sources. Among the literary sources the chronicles of either the foreigners or the natives, who happen to be contemporary, are much valuable. The poetical works, although written by the court-poets are considered as secondary evidences as they are likely to contain exaggerated accounts of their heroes. Similarly, the Kaifiyats which are available in abundance are treated as secondary. However, as regards the historical value of these kaifiyats, the words of Dr. P. B. Desai, one of our eminent historians, may be quoted here :

> "Stepping further, we come to another class of sources which outweigh the other categories by their number and volume... They are the local Kaifiyats or the village chronicles compiled at a later date. Their information is generally based on second traditions, unverified reports and other miscellaneous stuff. But they have their own place in the scheme of historical studies"

It is a pity that our historians have not yet made any systematic study of such Kaifiyats which are lying idle in our oriental libraries. These are also called as *Bakhairu* or *Nama* in Kannada. There is one known as *Chitradurgada bakhairu* and another, the *Rajendra Name* which deals with the history of Coorg. The *Hyder Nama* is about the life of Hyder. All these are now available in print. The terms *Kaifiyat*, *Bakhairu* and *Nama* are used synonymously in Kannada and they mean 'an account' or 'a narration'. They are loanwords borrowed from Arabic or Persian. It is really creditable that a few scholars of Kannada have brought to light some of these Kaifiyats long ago. It may be mentioned that the late Dr. M. H. Krishna has given a detailed survey of *Hyder Nama* in the *Archaeological Report*

[1] Jainism in South India, p. 11.

of the Mysore State as early as 1930.[2] A veteran scholar Sri J. J. Sharma has evinced a special interest in such documents and he has recently published a book containing *Ramarayana Bakhair*, *Hyder Nama* and 'A letter of Veerarajendra of Coorg', all rendered into modern Kannada.[3] This volume would have been more useful if the original texts were also included in it. In this connection one cannot forget to mention the name of the late Benegal Rama Rao who has given us the Kaifiyats of Sringeri, Kanakuppe, Bellary, Arcot State and Bukkaraya[4]. The *bakhair* of Chitradurga was published by the late Hullur Srinivasa Jois, first in instalments in *Tayinadu* and later in book form[5]. The importance of these local records can be understood well when we go through the volumes about our Palegars written by late M. S. Puttanna. The author has made use of such writings profusely with sufficient care while narrating the historical events about these palegars.

While I was collecting materials about Kumararama, I came across the name of a Kaifiyat known as *Bhatara Kaifiyat* mentioned by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya in his small book *Kampila and Vijayanagara*. When I went in search of this record in the Government Oriental Manuscripts' Library at Madras, I was overwhelmed with joy as I found a member of other Kaifiyats among the collection of Col. Mackenzie dealing about Kumararama and a host of other subjects. As I glanced through the list[6] of these Kaifiyats, I realised that these local documents are worthy of a systematic study. They include the traditional accounts of some places. Some of them throw light on the castes and tribes of Karnataka. They acquaint us with the lives of eminent historical personages. They also deal with some religious mutts and temples. One can say without any hesitation that these Kaifiyats form important source materials not only for reconstructing history but also for understanding our age-old customs and manners. Besides, as they happen to be written in prose, they are equally important from literary and linguistic points of view. An attempt is made herein to acquaint the reader with a few salient points about these Kaifiyats with examples wherever possible.

For a long time the historians were unable to identify the place 'Crynamata' mentioned by Nuniz in his chronicles. R. Sewell has confessed his inability to identify this place and he has just thrown

[2] *MAR.*, 1930, pp. 79-106.

[3] '*Charitrika Dakhalegalu*' Pub. by Kannada Sahitya Parishat, 1971.

[4] *Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrike*, Vols. xiii, No. 1, pp. 59-72; xv, No. 2, pp. 110-121; xvi, No. 2, pp. 128-136; xi, No. 4, pp. 222-245; ix, No. 2, p. 133-146; viii. Nos. 2 and 4.

[5] *Chitrdurgada bakhairu*, J. V. Memorial Book Series, Mysore, 1968.

[6] An Alphabetical Index of Kannada Mss., Mackenzie's Collection. The Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras.

a suggestion that the first syllable may refer to "Sri".[7] Sri B. Suryanarayana Rao thought that it might refer to Anegondi or Valibhandara[8]. Prof. S. Venkateswara Iyer attempted to connect this name with Sringeri-mutt, pursuing the hint given by R. Sewell[9]. Ultimately, it was Sri M. H. Rama Sharma who was able to solve this problem with the help of *Kumararamana Sangatya*, because he found that the name 'Crynamata' exactly resembled 'Kummata' mentioned in the work. His valuable article *The Identification of Nuniz's Crynamata* deals with this problem in detail[10]. Al this trouble could have been saved if any one of these scholars had the chance of looking into Kampili taluk Kaifiyat included in the rich collections of Col. Mackenzie. There it is clearly mentioned that the Fort of Kummata is on the northern side of Tungabhadra, three miles from Yemmigudda. (Of course, the first hurdle was the corrupted form 'Crynamata' and the second problem was the location of Kummata). Similarly, it is clearly stated in a Kaifiyat of Sandur that Hosamaledurga and Ramghad are one and the same and that it is situated in Sandur. Even the name Daroji located along the Guntakal and Hubli line was intriguing to the scholars. One of the Kaifiyats named after Daroji has thrown much light on this problem. It is learnt, that this place assumed the present name on account of a big tank situated there, once known as "Dariya Talab". The earlier name of this place is said to be "Dwaravati" which was later on corrupted to Doravadi. Generally, whenever a Kaifiyat is about any place, it gives its early history as well as its importance during the several regimes of kings and chieftains. Thus, the Kaifiyat of Bellary provides us its history commencing from *Kritayuga* up to the regime of Britishers. Similarly, the Kaifiyat of Sringeri begins with the very origin of its name linking it with Rishyasringa and the narration gradually develops, illustrating its glory at the time of Sri Sankaracharya and onwards. In all such instances, history is coupled with legends. It is quite possible to a genuine historian to get at the historical truth lying concealed behind these traditional accounts.

Some of the Kaifiyats or Bakhairs are named after prominent persons; for example, there is a document called "*Rama Rayana bakhairu*" (the Bakhair of Rama Raya). While assessing the historical value of this account Sri J. J. Sharma has pointed out that this work has revealed to us the following facts for the first time:

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[7] *A Forgotten Empire*, 1962, p. 281, F.N. No. 2.

[8] *The Never to be Forgotten Empire*, p. 5, F.N.

[9] *Mysore University Journal*, 1923, p. 221,

[10] *QJMS.*, Vol. XX No. 1, pp. 5-14; No. 4, pp, 261-270.

(i) The battle between Rama Raya of Vijayanagar and the Bahamani Sultans took p'ace at Rakkasagi-Tangadagi or Rakkasa Tangadi and not at Talikote.

(ii) The old mother of Rama Raya was yet alive when he went to war. He took her blesssings before he left for the destined battle.

(iii) Adilshah of Bijapur was the son of Rama Raya. The king requested Adilshah "As you happen to be my son, I ask a favour from you. Kindly do not hand me over to the enemies to be beheaded by them. Kill me yourself with your gun." The so called son fulfilled his father's desire.

Whatever may be the importance of the last two points mentioned above, the battle of Talikote is now recognised as "Rakkasa-Tangadi Kalaga"

The *Hyder Nama* is an important work in this series. It is sufficiently voluminous and alludes to many important events of Hyder's life. While commenting upon the historical value of this record Dr. M. H. Krishna has paid glorious tributes to the work as well as to its another Nallappa who is supposed to be a contemporary of Hyder and closely associated with him. Dr. M. H. Krishna's estimate of this rare work is worth quoting here:

> "It gives in detail an accouut of the events in the life of this hero year after year and naturally ends with his death. Though much of Hyder's history has already been known, the chief value of the manuscript consists in giving confirmatory evidence while, here and there, some new materials are also supplied to the historian. The author writes with a healthy independence and judicious frankness which could not be expected from a court chronicler. He admires Hyder Ali and the way the usurper saved the independence of Mysore by his diplomacy and generalship and raised the kingdom to the position of the strongest contemporary power in South India, while at the same time he condemns the blemishes in his heroe's character and points out follies. Though he gives the Mysorean's version of many events, like Hyder's decisive victory at the battle of Arni, he frankly admits also his defeats on many occasions. Thus, he is a true historian and not in any sense an apologist or euologist. His work is welcome as a corrective to the existing accounts of Hyder's life which are to a considerable extent based on his enemies or of his own Moslem secretaries." [12]

As already stated above Dr. M. H. Krishna has given an English rendering of this important work in the *Annual Report of the*

Mysore Archaeological Department of 1930 running to 28 pages. My revered professor has taken much pains in printing out the divergences found in this valuable document as compared with the other existing accounts of Hyder's life. One other work of this kind is "*Rajendra Name*" which was written at the instance of Doddarajendra who was a ruler of Coorg. As it was written under the orders of the king himself, it is said to be not faithful to history here and there. However, its importance cannot be overlooked as it also happens to be a contemporary work.

The authors of these Kaifiyats had an advantage over the other historians. As they concentrate particularly on one topic, whether it may be about a place or a person, they are able to give exhaustive details of the events; for example, the Bakhair of Chitradurga describes the Royal Court of Madakarinaika as follows :

> "(Madakarinaika) got up in the morning, took his bath, performed *puja*, had his food and then, arriving at the court hall, sat upon the throne. White umbrellas were held to the Maharaja Raja Sahib. Precious coins were sprinkled. On either side 'sampher' were held. Weapons like 'Dhanurbana' and 'Gandugodali' were held. Eight 'bhaltings' (those who are engaged to praise a person) were praising 'Oh Lord! Oh Lord! Maharaja Rajadhiraja!' The 'copdars' were extolling 'Saviour of the poor'. He was thus seated in the court hall.
>
> Brother Parashuramappanaik sat along with him. Sahebjade Bharamappanaika came and sat in front of him. The son-in-law Huchchappanaika sat by the side of Sahebjade...Hatti Mallappa naik, Jaramale Bommannanaik and other local chieftains sat before him. Mansubedar Sarvottama Rao, Neelakanta Rao, exactly sat on one side. Kadape Vakil Sivarama panth, Nawab's Vakil Lakshmana Rao, Srimant's Vakil Purushottama, Panth Balaji, Tammaji Rango, Tammaji Chandragiri (?) Bhimaji panth's son-in-law sarvabhowma Rao Mylara panth sat on the left side. Five Persian munshis, ten Hindi munshis, fifteen Kannada munshis sat behind his back. Devan Parashuramappa sat before him. Kasturappa, Bhattara Mallappa sat to the left side of Dalvoy Parshuramappa.."[13]

In this manner the author gives an account of the whole Royal Court without omitting any important person. As the author of this Bakhair also is said to be a contemporary one, these details have an historical value indeed.

Similarly these records furnish us a good account of the warfare of those days. The kings used to depend mainly upon the well built forts and their loyal army. These forts were built either on a hill or on the plain ground surrounded by thick forest or water. The fort of

Chitradurga was well known for its seven walls one behind the other and was well built on a hill. Hyder had to struggle very hard to conquer this insurmountable fort.

Here is a brief account of one of the attacks on the fort conducted by the army of Hyder.—

> "Both the armies were ready. As soon as it was dark the whole army assembled. Those who were watching the fort came to know the activities of the enemy and since they give hint to their side, even those who were inside the fort got ready for war. After twenty seconds, the signalling arrows were shot in advance. Immediately the army, about a lakh in strength was hilarious and when it was advancing with ladders (to climb the fort wall), about ten thousand soldiers (on the other side) lit the torches on the fort instantly with great joy and began to shower different kinds of bullets on the enemies. Although five thousand cavalry laid down their lives, the army did not retreat. The men on the fort wall never stopped their firing. However great their loss might be, the enemy climbed the fort walls without minding it. Thousands of soldiers lost their lives. Then the enemies began to adjust 'chidi' (iron hook) to the fort. The defending army began to throw big stones on the enemies who were attempting to climb the fort with the help of radders. Next, they began to pour ragi porridge from top, which was ready for use in big vessels. The thick clouds were at sight wherever they cast their look. Though the trench was full, the enemies' attack was not successful."[14]

One can find such graphic descriptions of war in plenty. The several kinds of stratagems of the enemies are equally interesting. Besides, we come across a number of weapons used in the battles and they require a thorough study.

The literary value of these records consists in their peculiar prose style and their vocabulary, particulary loanwords belonging to Arabic or Persian. Since these writings were meant for ordinary use, the prose style is nearer to the colloquial form. Here is an example called out from the Kaifiyat of Kanakuppe.—

ನಳಸಂವತ್ಸರ ಮಾರ್ಗಶಿರ ಶು. ೧೦ ಶುಕ್ರವಾರ ಮೇಲುದುರ್ಗದ ಸುತ್ತು ಹೊಂದ ಸಹ ಆಯಿತು. ಕೊಮಾರಪ್ಪನವರು ಇರಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಮನೆಯನ್ನು ಈ ದಿವಸ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಮಾಘ ಶು. ೩ ದಿವಸ ಮನೆಗೆ ಸಮಾರಾಧನೆ ಮಾಡಿ, ಕಾಮಾಟಿಗರಿಗೆ ಉಡುಗರೆ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ, ಇವರಿಗಿ ಊಟ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ಹತ್ತು ಕುರಿಗಳು ತರಿಸಿ ಕೋಟೆಗೆ ಸರಗಾ (?) ಚೆಲ್ಲಿದರು. ಕೊಮಾರಪ್ಪನವರು ಮನೆಗೆ ಪ್ರವೇಶವಾದರು.—ಕಣಕುಪ್ಪೆ ಕೋಟೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ ಕೈಫಿಯತ್ತು : ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ, XIV, ೨, ಪು. ೧೨೯.

This is considerably simple. Sometimes the sentences are very lengthy and the construction is highly involved. The following is a single sentence covering a paragraph.—

ಹೀಗೆ ಕೆಲವು ಕಾಲ ಕಳೆಯುತ್ತಿರಲಾಗಿ ಈ ವರ್ತಮಾನವಾದ ಕಲಿಯುಗವು ಪ್ರಾಪ್ತವಾದ ಕೆಲವು ಕಾಲಾನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹುಮತಗಳು ಹುಟ್ಟಿ, ವರ್ಣಾಶ್ರಮಧರ್ಮಗಳೆಲ್ಲ ಕೆಟ್ಟು, ಜನರು ಮನಸ್ಸು ಬಂದ ಹಾಗೆ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿರಲು, ನಾರದರು ಕೈಲಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಈ ವೃತ್ತಾಂತವನ್ನು ಈಶ್ವರನಿಗೆ ಹೇಳಲಾಗಿ, ಈಶ್ವರನು ನಾವು ಭೂಲೋಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿವಗುರು ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರಲ್ಲಿ ಅವತರಿಸಿ, ದುರ್ಮತಗಳನ್ನು ಖಂಡಿಸಿ, ವರ್ಣಾಶ್ರಮ ಧರ್ಮಗಳು ನಿರ್ವಿಘ್ನವಾಗಿ ನಡೆದು ಬರುವ ಹಾಗೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆಂದು ಅಪ್ಪಣೆಕೊಟ್ಟನು.—ಶೃಂಗೇರಿಯ ಕೈಫಿಯತ್ತು: ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ, xiii, ಸಂ. 1, ಪು. ೬೨.

At times the Kannada prose books very strange due to loan words profusely used. Here is a small paragraph selected from the Bakhairu of Chitradurga.—

ಗುಡೇ ಕೋಟೆಗೆ ನವಾಬು ಸಾಹೇಬರೇ ಖುದ್ದು ಬಂದರು. ಈ ಮೋರೆಗೆ ದರೋಬಸ್ತು ಗಡಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಠಾಣ್ಯ ಹಾಕುತ್ತಾ ಫೌಜು ಜಮಾಯಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಕಣಕುಪ್ಪೆಯನ್ನು ಠಾಣ್ಯ ಹಾಕುತ್ತಾ ಬಂದರು. ದರೋಬಸ್ತು ಫೌಜು ಮುಸಲ್ ಮಾಡುವಲ್ಲಿ ಹನ್ನೆರಡು ಸಾವಿರ ಫೌಜು ಜಮಾ ಆಯಿತು. ಜರಿಮಲೆಯವರು ಬಿಗಡಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರೂ ಸಹ ದಂಡಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ಕೂಡಿದರು. ಇಂಥಾ ದುರ್ಗದ ಹೊರ ಫೌಜು ಹೊಡೆದು ದುರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಲಷ್ಕರು ಬಂದು ಇಳಿಯಿತು.—ಚಿತ್ರದುರ್ಗದ ಬಖೈರು, ಪು. ೧೦೨.

When we study such sentences in the Bakhair of Chitradurga or *Hyder Nama*, we can easily notice the impact of Urdu on Kannada, when it was extensively used in the royal Courts in those days. Thus we can easily account for the existance of a few of these words even today in our administrative departments particularly revenue, police judiciary.

As regards vocabulary, there are a number of rare Kannada words. For example, gurikara, olekara, garebagilu, kuchu, hadalige, kayikolu divatige, ulavari, ulupe, lancha lavani, diddi, kote munderi, atta, agalle, gachchu, umbali, hasige, devala, malige and harikara. The loan words belonging to Urdu or Persian are plenty. Behushar, namaj, ladayi, mokrur, atakavu, ajubaju, inam, eknam, ekdam, aivani, aibu, kabul, kille, kumka khajane, khatari, khillattu, khuddu, khulase, gada, chavani, jahagir, jarur, jame, javabu, javana, jhanda, thikani, tamamu, tukkadi, takit, darakhastu, darogu, daphan, darvaja, dussara, dowlat, diwan, dotaraf, najar, phatte, phiryad, phowju, phirka, bandobastu, barabari, binhukum, majalu, majboot, masalattu, marji, maphi, muddam, mehanat, manjur, mokkam, ravane, laskhar, lagayti, vagaire, vakil, shivayi, shahar, samjayisi, sepoy, savari, saranjamu, savalaksha, hatyaru, hajaru, hamraha, hukkum, hujur and halla. A detailed survey of these words will certainly reveal to us how our people gradually became familiar with these words which became a part and parcel of Kannada vocabulary either in their original or corrupted forms according to our method of pronunciation.

If we take up the study of Kaifiyats relating to the different castes and tribes, we are sure to know the customs and manners which were in vogue among them in those days. Such records are important both from sociological and religious points of view. There

are a few Kaifiyats about the religious institutions such as the mutts at Udipi and other places. Some of them are about the temples. Therefore, these local records, either contemporary or later, written at the instance of Col. Mackenzie deserve a systematic and thorough study by our scholars. I think we should not ignore such documents any longer, because they are likely to be destroyed by the ravages of time as most of them are written on papers. I hope this article which is more or less in the form of an outline will arouse the interest of the young scholars of the day and an authentic work-on these records will be available for use before long.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

29

On the Meaning of Yapaniya

A. N. UPADHYE

THE Yapaniyas[1] constituted an important *Sangha* of the Jainas along with those of Digambaras and Svetambaras. They seem to be quite an old *Sangha*. They get mentioned as early as the 5th century A.D. Mrigesavarman (475-90 A.D.) of the Kadamba dynasty made a grant to Yapaniyas, *Nirgranthas* and *Kurchakas*. There are references to the teachers of this *Sangha* upto the 13th-14th century A.D. in Karnataka and adjoining areas. There are images of this *Sangha* worshipped today in what are known as Digambara temples. What is striking is that the *Acharyas* of this *Sangha* received grants of land from rulers and possibly acted as Managing Trustees of the temples and their property.

Literary references show that authors like Indranandi looked upon Yapaniyas as *Jainabhasa*. It appears that they had certain doctrines and practices common both with Digambaras and Svetambaras. Now and then one comes across instances of Digambaras and Svetambaras criticising them.

Sakatayana, the eminent Sanskrit grammarian, belonged to the Yapaniya *Sangha*.[2] He was a contemporary of Amoghavarsha, the Rashtrakuta king. This grammar is more popular with Digambaras; but his two other small texts, *Strimukti* and *Kevalibhukti Prakaranas* are preserved only in the Svetambara collections. The famous Apabhramsa poet Svayambhu was also a Yapaniya. It is quite likely that Umasvati, Siddhasena Divakara, Jatila etc. belonged to the Yapaniya *Sangha*.

The etymology and interpretation of the term Yapaniya need some investigation. It is also written as *Yapana* or *Yapani-Sangha* (in a Kannada Ms. of the *Ganabheda*), *Apulisamghiya* (in note on Svayambhu), *Javaliya* (in the Kannada *Vaddaradhane*) etc. These are

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[1] A. N. Upadhye: *Yapaniya Sangha—A Jain Sect*, Bombay, 1956, pp. 56 f.; *Journal of the University of Bombay*—I, vi, May 1933; N. Premi: *Jain Sahitya aur Itihasa*, 2nd ed. *A Jain Sect*, 1956; pp. 56 f.; P. B. Desai: *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs*, Sholapur, 1957, pp. 163-166 etc.; A. N. Upadhye: *Siddhasena's Nyayavatara* etc., Bombay, 1971, Intro.

[2] *Sakatayana Vyakarana*, with the Intro. of R. Birwe, Bharatiya Jnanapitha ed., Delhi, 1971.

all later changes from Yapaniya. I have noted some earlier attempts in this direction. K. T. Telang interpreted the term 'as those who wandered about without being stationary.' M. Williams derives *yapaniya* (=*yapya*) from the root *ya*, meaning, expelled. I thought once that the Yapaniyas occupied a midway position between the Digambaras and Svetambaras, i.e., they wandered being expelled by either sect as not theirs. I was not sure of its etymology, and was all the while wanting to find some passages which would shed light on the meaning of this term, apparently Sanskrit, but going back to some Prakrit expression.

The *Paiasadda-mahannavo* has some entries which might be help ful to understand the term Yapaniya. The Prakrit root *java* is equated with *yapay*; there is an entry *javanijja*=yapaniya (=yapya), adj., that which is passed etc. In this context, the following passage from the *Nayadhammakahao*[3] deserves our attention :

से किं तं भंते, जवणिज्जं, सुया । जवणिज्जे दुविहे पण्णत्ते । तं जहा । इंदिय जवणिज्जे य नोइंदियजवणिज्जे य । से किं तं इंदियजवणिज्जं, सुया । जं णं मभं सोयंदिय च विखंदियघाणिंदियजिब्भिंदिय फासिंदियाइं निरुवहृयाइं वसे वट्टंति से तं इंदिय-जवणिज्जे । से किं तं नोइंदियजवणिज्जे सुया । जं णं कोहमाणमायालोभा खीणा उवसंता नो उदयंति से तं नोइंदियजवणिज्जे ।

Here the reference is to controlling, restraining etc. of *indriyas* and *no-indriyas*; and *javanijjam* goes back to the root *yam-yam*, to restrain, to curb. The derivative forms like *yamana*, i.e., restraining, *yamaniya* are available. *Yama* (from the root *yam*) also means restraint, forebearance (=*yama*, *samyama*). Further *yaman* also means *niyamana*.

There is an interesting passage from the *Pravachanasara*, III. 10[4]:

लिंगग्गहणे तेसिं गुरु त्ति पव्वज्जदायगो होदि ।
छेदेसूवट्ठवगा सेसा णिज्जावगा समणा ॥

Here two kinds of preceptors are mentioned : (i) *pravrajya-dayaka*, one who initiates in the ascetic order, and (ii) *niryapaka*, one who is helpful in putting the defaulter on the right path. *Niryapaka* seems to me a wrong Sanskritisation of *nijjavaga* or *nijjavaya*; the correct Sanskrit form should be *niryamaka*, one who controls, a pilot, from the root *yam-yam* with *nir*.

In the light of these passages, my suggestion is that Yapaniya is really *Yamaniya*, *javanijja* going back to the root *yam* to restrain.

In this context one is reminded of the *caujjama-dhamma* attributed to Parsvanatha, which stood for observing the four *yamas* or *vratas*, *brahmacarya* being included under *aparigraha*. The Yapaniyas were so called, because they observed *yamas* or vows and led a life of *samyama*.

[3] N. V. Vaidya's edn. of the *Nayadhammakahao*, p. 76, Poona 1940.

[4] A. N. Upadhye : *Pravacanasara* with Intro., Agas 1964.

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Sloka Metre in Kannada Literature

T. V. VENKATACHALA SASTRY

It is quite evident from the history of Kannada literature that a variety of *vrittas* of Sanskrit, Prakrit and the native Kannada metres and the offshoots developed later on as an influence of these metres, are contributing to the growth of that literature. What actually is the place of the famous Sanskrit metre, *sloka* known as epic-*anushtubh* among these numerous sets of meters? What is its history in that particular literature? How far is it made use of in composition? Are any differences regarding the principle and structure obvious? The purpose of this paper is to reveal a few facts in connection with the questions posed above.

It is well known that the *Puranas* and *Itihasas* as well as *Kavyas* and *Sastras* of the Sanskrit literature are composed in what is known as classical *anushtubh* (i.e. *sloka* metre) which is fairly distinguished from the Vedic *Anushtubh*. The definition of this metre is traditionally learnt as—

श्लोके षष्ठं गुरु ज्ञेयं सर्वत्र लघु पंचमम् ।
द्विचतुः पादयोर्ह्रस्वं सप्तमं दीर्घमन्ययोः ॥

The implication of this *sutra* may be explained thus: The *sloka* metre consists of four lines. There will be eight syllables in each quarter, but of variable quantity. The fifth syllable of each quarter should be short, the sixth long, and the seventh alternately long and short.

The sloka-bound works in Sanskrit literature will be normally in accordance with the said general definition of the sloka, which can be illustrated by the following examples;

ऊरुवेगोद्यता वृक्षाः मुहूर्तं कपिमन्वयुः ।
प्रस्थितं दीर्घमध्वानं स्वबन्धुमिव बान्धवाः ॥ (वाल्मीकि रामायणम्)
वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥ (कालिदासकृत रघुवंशम्)

But पंचमं लघु सर्वत्र सप्तमं द्विचतुर्थयोः ।
गुरु षष्ठं तु पादानां शेषेष्वनियमो मतः ॥

which is a *sutra* a from *Chhandomanjari* and a similar *sutra* form *Srutabodha* do not assign either long or short syllabic instant at the

seventh place of the first and third lines of the *sloka.* They permit any variation for those particular syllables. Perhaps, these prosodists might have come across such instances in the compositions of their predecessors. Often, we find instances where our ancient poets have taken the liberty to surpass the generally accepted definition of the *sloka*.

The following two verses from Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa* can be noted :

तदन्वये शुद्धिमति प्रसूतः शुद्धिमत्तरः ।
दिलीप इति राजेन्दुरिन्दुः क्षीरनिधाविव ॥
भीमकान्तैः नृपगुणौ स बभूवोपजीविनाम् ।
अधृष्यश्चाभिगम्यश्च यादोरत्नैरिवार्णवः ॥ (२-२१, २६)[1]

Such violations are not unusual in our great epics of the earlier period (see for a few examples in *Ramayana : Kishkindha Kanda*, 32–12, 19, 34, 51).

Let now us concentrate our attention on the Kannada literature. The one and only ancient prosodical work in Kannda that has dealt about the *sloka* metre is *Chhandombudhi* of Nagavarma I (c. 990 A.D). In the third adhikara of this book, soon after defining the *Vishama—vrittas*, the author has defined the *sloka* metre. The essential features of *sloka* are explained in one *Kanda* verse (s. 16) with an example illustrating the same (s. 17). The factors of exception have been dealt with in another *Kanda* verse (s. 18). But all the three verses are muddled on account of the availability of a large number of manuscripts. As an authentic and critical edition of *Chhandombudhi* is not still before us, it is difficult to assess what actually was the opinion of the prosodist about the definition of the *sloka* metre. The prescription and the way of expression of verse 16 provides an allowance to guess that the author has proceeded close to the verse describing the *sloka* metre in the Sanskrit language. No doubt verse 17, which is the illustrative verse, is in accordance with the prescription of the *sloka* metre in Sanskrit language as per one edition (Madras edition, 1946) of the Kannada text. But the language of the verse seems to be doubtful. It is notable that the third verse which mentions of exception (s. 18) permits a free variation of short and long letters in the sixth place. Possibly, Nagavarma might have come across such instances in Sanskrit or Kannada compositions prior to him. The verses from Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa* referred above may once again be remembered here.

It may not be out of place if the textual points of the defining verse (s. 16) of *Chhandombudhi* are disscussed in some detail here

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[1] I am grateful to Sri B. K. Sivaramaiah, Reader in Sanskrit, Manasa Gangotri, Mysore for the above quoted *sutra* from *Chhandomanjari* and the illustrations from *Raghuvamsa*.

before proceeding further to give an account of the history of the *sloka* metre in Kannada literature. The writer had the opportunity to go through a set of manuscripts of *Chhandombudhi* belonging to the editing section of the Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore by the courtesy of Sri B. S. Sannayya. A comparison of these manuscripts revealed different readings and no particular version seemed to be satisfactory. As a result, the writer has attempted to reconstruct the verse (s.16) chiefly relying on two manuscripts (k. 231, K.A. 12) as follows :

ಅಯ್ದಾಱಿಂಬೆರಡೆಡೆಯೊಳ
ಮೆಯ್ದುಗೆ ಲಘುಗುರು ಕರಾಬ್ಧಿಪದಸಪ್ತಕದೊಳ್
ಮೆಯ್ದೊಱುಗೆ ಲಘುಲಕ್ಷಣ
ಮೆಯ್ದುಗೆ ಪರಿಪೂರ್ಣಮಷ್ಟವರ್ಣಂ ಶ್ಲೋಕಂ ॥

This does not seem to be far from the original text. The reconstructed *sutra* is similar in its chief characteristics to the aforesaid *sutra* of *Chhandomanjari*. Perhaps Nagavarma's intention was that, at the seventh place of the first and third quarters either a short or a long syllable might occur. Regarding the 18th verse which deals with the exception and also the illustrating verse in these manuscripts, possibilities are remote to improve over the text of the printed version (Madras ed.). Hence, no further discussion about them seems necessary. The expression 'ಎರಡೆಱೊಳಗೆಯುಂ ಗುರುಪ್ರಚಿತಂ' is not clear enough. As evidences are found in the old works for a short syllable occurring instead of a long one in the sixth place, it might have been the intention of the statement that a long syllable may or may not occur in the first and the third as well as the second and fourth lines (or in the former and the latter halves) of the *sloka* as the case may be.

Now let us turn over to the occurrences of the *sloka* metre in Kannada literature. Written documents are available since the fifth century in Kannada literature. The usage of Kannada *sloka* has not been so far found out in edicts between the fifth and ninth centuries A.D. Of the available Kannada works *Kavirajamarga*, a book on poetics, the authorship of which is assigned to the Rashtrakuta emperor Amoghavarsha Nripatunga (814–877 A.D.), is the first and the foremost. There are certain Kannada *slokas* in this work worth noting. In the second chapter, there are twentyeight *slokas* altogether (112–136; 139–141). A section of these verses is primarily concerned with *Dushkara-kavya* which in other words is called *Chitrakavitva* (112–124, 119, 129) and the rest are illustrations (115–118, 120–128, 130–136, 139–141). The same problem of a dependable version of the text as was with regards to Nagavarma's *Chhandombudhi* has to be tackled here. A few verses exhibit some kind of verbal ornament or the other, and consequently they are not

at all intelligible and seem to be corrupt. Thus ten verses (s. 112, 113, 115, 116, 121, 122, 126, 131, 139, 141) are impure. The remaining eighteen (s. 114, 117–120, 123–125, 127–130, 132–136, 140) are flawless. Among those impure, it is probable that one or two might have been illustrated intentionally as verses of the type of exceptions (s. 112, 115) which we have noticed earlier. No doubt it is a fact that even in pure verses meaning is obscure and incomprehensive.

Two meaningful verses which satisfy the prescribed conditions of the *sloka* metre may be quoted below:

ತಾರಾ ಜಾನಕಿಯಂ ಪೋಗಿ | ತಾರಾ ತರಳನೇತ್ರೆಯಂ
ತಾರಾಧಿಪತಿತೇಜಸ್ವಿ | ತಾರಾದಿವಿಜಯೋದಯಾ ॥
ಅಜೇಯಂ ಪೋಲ್ಕುವಾ ಮತ್ತ | ಗಜಂ ವಾರಿಜನಾಭನಂ
ತ್ರಿಜಗ(ನ್ಮ) ದನಂ ಮತ್ತಂ | ನಿಜನೀಳಘನಾಭನಂ ॥

These *slokas* satisfy all the conditions of the Sanskrit *sloka* metre. One special feature that is not found there is the observance of *prasa* (i.e. similarity of the second letter) which befits the genius of the Kannada language. As a result of this *prasa* scheme, the split of the four lines is clearly felt. The same scheme is found in other verses also. Some *slokas* are embedded with Sanskrit words and their compounds, the recitation of which sounds more like Sanskrit (s. 112–129). In some other places, the diction is just in accordance wite the style of the author of *Kavirajamarga* and the native Kannada sounds employed in such places clearly establish that *sloka* metre is not unusual for Kannada. They twinkle like little stars in the firmament of the literature. There are certain verses which combine in them usages of both Sanskrit and Kannada also (s. 110, 130).

Stepping ahead of *Kavirajamarga*, we come across the golden age of Kannada literature. It is strange that none of the Kannada works of this period has made use of *sloka* metre. Such exploration through literature takes us to *Kavyavalokana* of Nagavarma II (c. 1145 A.D.) which is the only notable old work which has employed the *sloka* metre in Kannada at the latter period. It is interesting to note that this work is also on poetics like *Kavirajamarga* (excepting a chapter on grammar). There are twenty-one illustrative verses of the *sloka* metre in this work. A verse of the second chapter (s. 474) dealing with faults in composition (*Kavyadoshas*) and twenty verses (s. 540, 543, 550, 572, 571, 574–579, 580, 582–4, 586, 588, 591–92, 597) dealing with merits or excellences of composition (*Gunas*) are *slokas*. Three verses are illustrations for kinds of *Yamakas* (rhyme) and the following seventeen *slokas* are illustrations for kinds of *Chitrakavitva* (fancy ornament). These illustrations also have different readings though not as many as in the case of *Kavirajamarga*. As some of them are just exhibits of some kind of verbal ornament or the other, their meaning is not

clear. However the readings of the printed text (O.L., Mysore No. 22, 1939) are so edited as to be in accordance with the general principles of *sloka*.

Two meaningful verses may be quoted here :

ಇಂದು ನೋಡಿದು ಬೇಱಂದ । ಮೊಂದಿನಾದಮುದಲ್ತಣಂ ।
ಮುಂದಮುಂದಂ ಕರಸ್ಪರ್ಶಂ । ತಂದಪ್ಪುದುಪತಾಪಮುಂ ॥ ೫೮೭ ॥
ಏನನೇನಂ ಮಹಾಘೋರಂ । ನಾನಾಜನ್ಮಾಂತರಂಗಳೊಳ್ ।
ತಾನಾಗಿಸದು ಸಂಸಾರಿ । ಗಾ ನಿರ್ವಾಣಪದಂಬರಂ ॥ ೫೯೦ ॥

The *prasa* (i.e. the similarity of the second letter) is observed here also. As in *Kavirajamarga*, from the view point of style, there are illustrations for the above mentioned three varieties. For abundant usage of Sanskrit words verses Nos. 575, 576, for abundant usage of Kannada words verses Nos. 586, 591 and for mixed usage versee Nos. 581, 590 are examples. The *slokas* in this work are more easily intelligible than the *slokas* of *Kavirajamarga*.

After the twelfth century, considerable evidences are not found for the occurrence of *sloka* metre in Kannada literature. An opinion is that '*Anushtubh* has been rejected as it did not fit itself into the composite genius of the Kannada language.' But it seems that the Kannada poets were not at all attracted towards the *sloka* metre at any period of the history of Kannada literature, except of course in one or two cases. It is guessed that one or two verses of *Kavirajamarga* are from some *Ramayana*. But recently, scholars have put forth, on proper grounds, that the author has himself composed these poems, according to the exigencies of the topic. Similarly, the other *slokas* also are independent compositions. We may also come to the conclusion broadly that the author of *Kavyavalokana* has proceeded on the same line and composed the illustrative verses independently ; they do not seem to be based on any eventful happenings. One reason to say so is that they are analogous to the situations of *Kavirajamarga* and the other reason is that the sources of these verses have not still come to light. As we find some similarities between *Kavirajamarga* and *Kavyavalokana* regarding the *sutras* and illustrations, the influence of the former on the latter might be there in the part of *sloka* verses also.

It is still to be searched out which other Kannada poet has made use of *sloka* metre other than these two writers. Tirumalarya, a court poet of Chikkadevaraja (1645–1706), has used two *slokas*, in his *champu* work *Chikadevarajavijayam*. Those two examples may be quoted here :

ಜಯಾತಿಪ್ರೀತಿನಿಹತಾ । ಭಿಯಾತಿ ಸಹುಷಾತ್ಮಜಂ
ಯಯಾತಿ ಭೂಮಿಪಂ ಸಪ್ತ । ಹಯಾತಿಜ್ಯೋತಿರಾಸ್ಪದಂ ॥ ೧–೮೫ ॥
ನಿತ್ಯಸಂಗರನಿಷ್ಣಾತ । ಭೃತ್ಯಪುಂಗವಸಂಘದಿಂ
ಸತ್ಯಮಂಗಲಸಂಪನ್ನಂ । ಸತ್ಯಮಂಗಲವೊಂದಿದಂ ॥ ೨–೧೩೪ ॥

Of these two, the second one is in accordance with the general features of the *sloka* mertre.

In the Virasaiva literature of the Kannada language many Sanskrit *slokas* are quoted often about which we need not discuss here. A mediaeval Kannada poet Gurusiddha II (c. 1720 A.D.) has made use of several metres in his *Halasyapurana*. A few Kannada *slokas*[2] can be found therein. The Sanskrit work by the same author, *Prabhulila* has got some *slokas* of his own. The composition here might have inspired the author to compose a few *slokas* in Kannada also.

Two examples can be illustrated from *Halasyapuranam.*

> ನಿದ್ರೆಗೆಯ್ದಿರೆ ಭೂಪಾಲಂ । ರುದ್ರ ಜಂಗಮವೇಷದಿಂ
> ಭದ್ರಾಕಾರದಿನೆಯ್ತಂದಂ । ಮುದ್ರಾಪಂಚಕಯುಕ್ತದಿಂ ॥ ೪_೫೦ ॥
> ಇಂತೆಂದು ನುಡಿಸಲ್ ದೇವಿ । ಸಂತೋಷಂ ಮಿಗೆ ಶಂಕರಂ
> ಕಂತು ಪ್ರಧ್ವಂಸಿ ಪೇಳಲ್ ತಾ । ನಂತೆಯುದ್ಯುಕ್ತಮಾಗುತಂ ॥ ೨೭–೩೫ ॥

Recently, the noted Kannada poet of modern Kannada period, Dr. P. T. Narasimhachar has composed two poems in sloka metre, *Anushtubh Vilasam* and *Gandhistava.* These two poems have been included in his collection of poems, *Hridayavihari.* The poet has studied Sanskrit in the traditional method of learning; he knows the grandeur and felicity of sloka metre employed in the great epics of India, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata.* As a result, *sloka* metre has been conventionally and skillfully used by him. It is learnt that the introduction of these verses was only in response to the challenge taken against his scholar-friend who concluded that it is extremely difficult to sketch out composition in *sloka* metre in Kannada. Out of the fifty-four verses of the narrative poem *Anushtubh Vilasam,* most of the *slokas* satisfy the general principles though a few of them deviate from regulation. The poet has supported himself saying that these are like the exceptions (s. 1, 2, 4, 5, etc.) found in our ancient great poets as Valmiki and Kalidasa. The poet, it seems, has intentionally given out *slokas* of the type of exception (2, 40 etc.) similar to the one which we noticed in *Raghuvamsa* in the former part of our discussion. The observance of *prasa* is overlooked here. It is evident by this that the poet has taken the Sanskrit *slokas* as his model. We find here also the Sanskritised, native and the mixed variety of usage in the style. Perhaps owing to the fact that the plot is modern and the language and style are an admixture of old and new usages, we may not derive the same amount of pleasure as can be expected of the ancient *sloka* metrical composition in Sanskrit and Kannada. *Gandhistava* is also similar to *Anushtubh Vila-*

[2] This information is supplied to me by Sri G. G. Manjunath, Research Assistant, I.K.S., Mysore.

sam as far as its metre is concerned but it is more Sanskritised. Following are two examples from *Anushtubh Vilasam :*

ಪುರ್ಚಸೆಳ್ಪಿಪ ವ್ಯೈಗಂಪ್ರೋ ಕೆಚ್ಛಂತಹ ವಿಲಾಸವೋ
ಸ್ಪರ್ಶವಾಂಛೆಯು ತೋರ್ವಂದಂ ನೋಟಂ ಪ್ರೊಸೆವ ಬೇಟವೋ ॥
ಹೀರಾವಳಿಯು ನಾಸೊಂದನಾಕೆಗೀಯೆ ನಿರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಿ
ವೋದಂ ತಳೆದಳಾ ಕಾಂತೆ ಕಂಗಳಿಂ ಕೊಳ್ಳುತೆನ್ನನು ॥

Why could not *sloka* metre get adequate popularity among men of Kannada literature ? This may be accounted for with a reason or two : (i) The ancient Kannada poets made certain particular *Vrittas* and *Kandas* patent ; they were more accustomed to *Champu* form of composition and those metres were more than adequate to their purpose ; (ii) *Sloka* metre was not historically and traditionally as important and well known as *Vrittas* and *Kandas* ; (iii) As our well known ancient poets made masterly use of *sloka* metre for their epics, there was nothing much left for Kannada poets to exhibit their skill or talent (iv) As *Kanda*, the popular short metre, established its sway on the poetical works of Kannada literature, the *sloka* metre did not play any part there. Whatever the reason we may account for, it is a fact that *sloka* metre did not enjoy enough reputation in Kannada literature.

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Mysore Palace Publications

B. K. SHIVARAMIAH

KARNATAKA could be justly proud of its immense contribution to Sanskrit learning and studies through many of its rulers as both patrons and writers, and through poets and philosophers, great *acharyas* like Madhva and erudite commentators like Sayana. Different branches of Sanskrit like Vedic and Classical literature, grammar, and the several systems of philosophy were all enriched by the ceaseless and commendable efforts of learned individuals and institutions distinguished for the keenness of their interest in promoting Indian culture on sound and substantial lines. Special mention should here be made of the great impetus given to the preservation and perpetuation of Sanskrit and the culture ensuing from it by the royal courts of Karnataka, particularly of Vijayanagara, in the past, and of Mysore in contemporary times. Of course, the Sayana-Madhava contribution to Vedic exegesis etc., under the Vijayanagara kings is epoch-making in the field of Sanskrit learning; and it would be no exaggeration to say that the contribution, very often through the toils of a host of unnamed scholars, to Sanskrit studies, under the benign patronage of the erstwhile Rulers of Mysore, is equally epoch-making.

All along, the royal court of Mysore is celebrated for its patronage of art and letters. Especially Sanskrit learning has received at the hands of its successive rulers adequate support, both moral and material. From individual Sanskrit scholars to well-established institutions like the Maharaja's Sanskrit College at Mysore, all have shared the royal munificence in a manner and measure worthy of the givers and the recipients. The rulers themselves have been highly learned, actively participating in the propagation of knowledge in general and Sanskrit learning in particular. Instances of enlightened patronage and generous encouragement in these matters are legion.

In this connection, it is worthwhile recalling, with a sense of gratitude, the noble endeavour of the Mysore Palace in bringing out in Kannada useful editions of a large number of Sanskrit texts relating to literature, religion, philosophy, *tantras* and *puranas*, with

learned introductions, translations and explanations in Kannada; wherever necessary and possible, authorities are mentioned or quoted; English translations are given and useful indices provided.

These several texts, which the Mysore Palace has got published in recent times, generally known as the Palace Publications, deserve to be called a landmark in the history of Karnataka contribution to Sanskrit studies. As literary products of surprising magnitude they would go down in the annals of our literary history as the living emblems of a hoary culture. With about 350 large volumes of not less than an average of 500 pages in each and having a wide coverage of subjects, always low-priced, if not free of cost, these books in Kannada language have been in great demand; it would be incredible if one were to disclose the fact of their being sold in no time also. That is a pointer to the hope and promise of our preparedness to continne to be the custodians of a great and worthy culture inherited from the past. The Palace Publications have been history almost turned into legend and, paradoxically enough, they have a double life—one in the culture they reveal and the other in the Kannada language embodying it.

The Palace Publications referred to above consist of a few religious books like the *Mahapujakalpa*; *puranas* namely, *Adi*, *Kalki*, *Kurma*, *Matsya*, *Varaha*, *Naradiya*, *Vayu*, *Vamana*, *Vishnu*, *Narasimha*, *Samba*, *Saura*, *Kalika*, *Bhavishya*, *Siva*, *Linga*, *Brahma*, *Padma*, *Skanda*, *Vishnudharmottara*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Brahmanda*, *Ganesa* and *Markandeya*; Philosophic texts like *Brahmasutrabhashya*, *Gitabhashya* and *Uyanishadbhashya* and *Ananda-Ramayana*, *Adhyatma-Ramayana*, *Adbhuta-Ramayana* and *Yogavasishtha*—under what is called the *Sri Jayachamarajendra Grantharatnamala*, many of them being in tens of volumes; *tantra* works like the *Varivasyarahasya*; and, as if crowning all the series, there are the *Rigvedasamhita*, the *Aitareya Brahmana Aranyaka-Upanishad*; and the *Nirukta*—all in 36 volumes running to about 30,000 pages on the whole in the demy quarto spectacular size and with impressive contents. These *Rigveda* volumes, published in a series called *Sri Jayachamarajendra Vedaratna Mala*, are treated at some length here, with the intention that it would provide the necessary clue to the magnitude and value of the task undertaken.

The shelf adorned by the thirty six volumes relating to the *Rigvedasamhita* are apt to evoke a sense of sacredness, wonder and faith in those that are religious-minded, and would mean much more to a keen student of Indian literature, philosophy, religion and culture. He finds in these volumes the entire *Rigveda* and its *Pada-patha*, the *Aitareya Brahmana*--*Aranyaka*--*Upanishad* with *Sayanabhashya* in the Kannada script, translated into Kannada and sometimes into English also; and accompanied by ritualistic, exegetical and philosophic interpretations in Kannada, and also the *Nirukta*

with Kannada translation and explanation. The first a volume gives the clue to the plan and arrangement of the subject matter of the thirty volumes of the *Rigvedasamhita* as such. In the preface to the first volume, the editor, *Asthana Mahavidvan* H P. Venkata Rao expresses the hope that a knowledge of Vedic lore transmitted to the millions of people in Karnataka through their mother-tongue would benefit them, and his deep sense of gratitude to the then Ruler for vouchsafing it to them; for contributing, through that, to the all-found growth of Kannada language and literature. Then are listed thirteen items intended to show the lines of the treatment of the subject-matter. Accordingly, the first among them is a preface giving in great detail, with critical and comparative estimates wherever necessary, such aspects of Vedic study as the meaning of Veda and its divisions; the *Vedangas* and the *Sakhas* of different Vedas, the *Rigveda Brahmanas* and *Aranyakas*, *rishis*, *devatas*, and *chhandas* and commentators like Skandasvamin, Narayana, Udgitha, Hastamalaka and Venkatamadhava; the *Padapathakaras* and commentators of the other Vedic *Samhitas*; Vedic interpretation, ancient and modern; the methods of studying the Veda—Eastern and Western; contents of Veda and social life in Veda and social life in the Vedic period; and the age of the Veda. The editor hopes that this preface would serve the purpose of acquainting the reader with the fundamentals of Vedic study, exegesis and a background of Vedic culture.

The second item as referred to in the preface and found occurring in these books is Sayana's introduction to Veda, called as '*Sayanabhashya-bhumika*, in its original text, followed by Kannada translation and explanation. It is pointed out that Sayana's introduction was indispensable to Vedic study because it covered such important subjects as the meaning of Veda, its scriptural authority and *apaurusheyatva*, the principles of Vedic study, the fitness for it and the purpose served by understanding the Veda. The value of Sayana's introduction to Veda is said to consist in its different topics being dealt with from the point of view of *Sastras* like *Mimamsa* and *Vyakarana*.

Then follows, as the third item, the introducing of the *mantras* prior to their being translated and explained, under such headings as *mandala* etc., *rishi*, *devata* and *chhandas*. The fourth and the fifth are respectively the *Samhitapatha* and the *Padapatha*. The sixth in order is *Sayanabhashya* called the *Vedarthaprakasa*. From the seventh onwards, one finds a word for word translation; the substance of each *mantra*; an English translation; interpretation of meaning as required under the special circumstances of each *mantra*; determining the meaning of words in different contexts, and their critical and comparative explanations on the basis of mythology, ritualism and authorities on Vedic learning and research—both ancient and modern; grammatical

prakriyas; and finally an index of all the *mantras* occurring in the *Rigveda*. In the entire bulk of thirty volumes of *Rigvedasamhita* proper, the arrangement mentioned above is strictly followed, and to the utmost advantage of the reader.

Now, about the last six volumes (31-36) attached to the *Rigveda* set. Among these the first two and a part of the 33rd contain the *Aitareya Brahmana* of the *Rigveda;* Volume 33 has 1050 pages out of which 1-391 mark the completion of the said *Brahmana*; pages 392-455 contain an index of all the lines occurring in the *Aitareya Brahmana* ; pages 446-1050 contain the *Aitareya Aranyaka* of which pages 628-939 form the *Aitareya Upanishad*; all these texts are accompanied by *Sayana-Bhashyabhumika*, *Sayanabhashya* along with translation and explanation in Kannada. Volumes 34-35 contain Yaska's *Nirukta*, the celebrated ancient Sanskrit text on etymology, hailed as one of the *Vedangas*.

The last of the above-mentioned six volumes, that is the 36th deserves special mention. It is an Index Volume of 1098 pages in two parts containing alphabetical indexes. The first part (pages 1-88) consists of an index of the various subjects occurring in the thirty volumes of the *Rigvedasamhita*. From page 89 to 1098, there is a very big index of all the words of the *Rigveda-mantras*. In addition to these indexes, one finds towards the end of Volume I (pages 717-920) of *Rigvedasamhita* an Index of all the *mantras*. In fact, these indexes themselves ought to be characterised as a monument of industry and hard work. What to speak of all the 36 volumes produced over a period of 15 years. The achievement of the Mysore Palace in this direction is so great and valuable as to keep the present generation and posterity in a state of perennial gratitude for the assets and legacy of culture passed on to them. Therein lies a proof of the real democratic spirit of the Mysore rulers; it is due to their realisation of the cultural need and urge of the common man. These are sought to be so satisfied as to make one who is heir to a rich culture know it and live it for his own good and for the good of all around him.

Further, among those that deserve one's regard and attention are the innumerable scholars including savants and saints; many of them have not lent even their names to the work done by them, of course in keeping with the Indian way of life and its lofty tradition of not making much of individual achievements.

The value of these publications consists in their being effective aids to Sanskrit studies and research. They have brought to light the depth, variety and richness of Sanskrit learning, and that through the Kannada language. So much so, a grand occasion is provided by them for a threefold development of Indian culture in the form of facilitating acquiantance with Sanskrit language, a deeper knowledge

of its myriad contents and growth of Kannada language and literature. It is hoped that these books will be more widely circulated, read and understood by all students of Indian literature, philosophy and religion in the context of the studies and research pertaining to these subjects and in adopting an essentially Indian way of life based on our ancient culture.

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A Hoysala Prince in a Hindi Historical Romance

M. S. KRISHNAMURTHY

DIVERSE and different are the stories and legends current about the invasions and conduct of Ala-ud-din Khilji. Some of them are a blend of fact and fiction. The famous episode of Ala-ud-din Khilji connected with Padmini and Bhimsingh of Chittor has been proved to be a fiction by the recent historians. But the episode of queen Kamaladevi and Devaladevi the wife and daughter of Ray Karna of Gujarat is authentic and still holds good. There must have been a famous legend current in the Hindi region about the invasion of Ala-ud-din on Devagiri, whose king Ramadeva according to historians failed to resist Ala-ud-din's attack. He, therefore, according to the terms of Ala-ud-din offered to him many maunds of gold, pearls and other valuable objects. Devagiri was denuded of its troops at the time of Ala-ud-din's attack as Shankaradeva the son of Ramadev had gone southwards at the head of his army on pilgrimage. Shankaradeva hearing of the approach of the Muhammadans returned to the city by forced marches. Ramadev sent word to him of the conclusion of the treaty, ordering him at the same time not to attack 'the Turks.' But the prince disregarded his father's orders and decided to fight Ala-ud-din. But rumours and chances played a dominant role and Ramadev met with a disastrous defeat. According to Ferishta, Ala-ud-din exacted from Ramadev a ransom of 600 maunds of gold, seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of other jewels, thousand maunds of silver, and an annual tribute of the revenues of the Elichpur province. Devagiri became a province of Delhi. Malik Kafur the general of Ala-ud-din invaded the Deccan many times, stormed Devagiri and beheaded Shankaradeva (1312 A.D.). Upon MalikKafur's departure, Harapaladeva, son-in-law of Ramadeva led a rebellion in which he was terribly defeated. Mubarak ordered Harapaladeva to be flayed alive. After death his head was cut off and fixed over the main gate of Devagiri. This in short is the story of the tragic end of the Devagiri rule.

The story of the invasion of Ala-ud-din and the subjugation of Devagiri has been a favourite theme with the Hindi writers. Atleast there are three prominent works in Hindi dealing with the conquest of Devagiri. *Chitayivarta* is a famous historical romance in Hindi

written by Narayanadas whose date has been fixed by Mataprasad-gupta to be near about Samvat 1500 (1443 A.D.). This work is of great importance to the students of Karnataka history. The portrait of a Hoysala prince who had great mastery in the playing of veena is very finely painted in the said romance. The story in brief is as follows :

Raja Ramadeva was a valiant king of Devagiri. Ala-ud-din, the Sultan of Delhi with a view to plundering the wealth of Devagiri sent his commander Nisurat Khan to conquer Devagiri. Nisurat Khan came to the south with a large army. He plundered all the countries that came in his way. The people who were stricken with terror approached the king and prayed for protection. The king summoned a meeting of his ministers and discussed at length the measures to be adopted to save the country. The ministers advised him either to offer his daughter to the Sultan or go to Delhi personally and meet the Sultan. Ramadeva met the feudatory princes of Nisurat Khan and then went straight away to Delhi. There he met the Sultan under the mediation of his brother Um Khan and presented him one lakh of gold coins. Ala-ud-din pleased at this gesture treated him well and made him to stay at Gayat Mahal.

The king stayed in Delhi for nearly three years. In Devagiri his daughter attained the age of marriage. After due consultations with the ministers the queen sent a message to the king. Ramadeva decided to leave for his country. He had to take the permission of the Sultan. Ramadeva's counsellars told him not to mention his daughter's coming of age to the Sultan. But Ramadeva did not like to hide anything from Sultan. The Sultan gave him permission to leave Delhi. He was very much pleased with the king and he wanted to give him some kind of present and tune with the taste of Ramadeva a skilled painter was asked to accompany him. The counsellors of Ramadeva were opposed to take the painter to Devagiri. But the king did not heed their advice.

People of Devagiri were very happy at the return of their king. He asked the painter to paint the walls of the palace. But the painter said that the walls of the palace are not suitable for painting. Hence a new palace was built for the purpose. The painter started his painting in this new palace. One day as luck would have it, the princes Chitayi came there to see the paintings. When she entered the gallery the painter saw her and struck by her beauty he fainted. He had never seen such a celestial beauty. He painted her picture also and kept it with him.

In the meanwhile the king sent one of his trustworthy Brahmin counsellors to find out a groom for his daughter. He found that one Sourasi the son of Srimannarayana, the king of Dwarasamudra was a suitable match for the princess and fixed the alliance. The

marriage was celebrated with all pomp and pedantry. The king presented large quantity of gold and rubies as dowry. Chitayi and her husband were happy at Dwarasamudra.

Once Ramadeva invited his daughter and son-in-law to Devagiri. The prince had a fascination for hunting. When he was in Devagiri he would frequently go for hunting. At times even Chitayi would accompany her husband. Ramadeva thinking that hunting is a vice, advised him not to indulge in it, but in vain. Once it so happened that he went to the ashram of Bhartrihari while chasing a deer. Bhartrihari's meditation was disturbed at the noise. He persuaded him not to indulge in violence. But he returned a deaf-ear to his advice. Bhartrihari saved the deer with his spiritual power and cursed Sourasi that he would fall a prey to the enemies. Hearing the curse Sourasi became so nervous that he lost his way. Somehow he reached Devagiri the next day.

The painter by this time had finished his work. He was there for over four years. He felt jealous about Sourasi and his wife. He was acquainted very well with all the places of Devagiri. He wanted to return to Delhi and sought permission for the purpose. He received many precious things to be presented to the Sultan, apart from personal presentations. After reaching Delhi he presented all those precious things to the Sultan. After the dismissal of the assembly the Sultan went to GayatMahal and invited the painter also to meet him personally.

The painter narrated to the Sultan all the details about Devagiri and praised the exquisite beauty of the princess Chitayi. The Sultan's mind was highly disturbed when he heard the beauty of the princess. He also presented the Sultan the picture of Chitayi which he had painted at Devagiri. This added to the fire of lust. He immediately sent word to his commander and asked them to get ready for the expedition. He entrusted the administration of Delhi to his brother Um Khan and marched towards Devagiri with an army of sixty thousand soldiers. Within six months he reached Devagiri. He destroyed many cities that came in his way. The king of Devagiri got details about the expedition of the Sultan through his minister Peepa. He mustered army of all the other kings of South India. The army faced Muslim army bravely. But still it failed to prevent its march further. Ultimately it sieged the fort of Devagiri. For six months the Muslim army was there surrounding Devagiri. Finally the king, after consulations with his ministers, decided to send his daughter and son-in-law to Dwarasamudra for safety. But Sourasi refused to desert his father-in-law at that critical hour. Then it was decided to send Sourasi to bring army from Dwarasamudra. Sourasi accepted this proposition.

Sourasi went to his wife and informed her about his journey.

She felt remorseful about his separation. Sourasi consoled her and took leave of her. She spent her time in the worship of Lord Shiva. When Sourasi left for Dwarasamudra there was a commotion in the Muslim army. Ala-ud-din had doubts that Chitayi must have been sent to Ranathambour with Sourasi. He immediately sent for his aid Raghava Chetan. He repiemanded him and said that the story of Chittor and Padmini should not be repeated again. Neither Ramadeva is prepared to offer his daughter, nor is he prepared to embrace Islam. If by chance she left this place then all our efforts will be thwarted. The Sultan asked Raghava to go and find out whether Chitayi was in Devagiri citadel itself or not. If she had left then she must be chased at all costs. If she is in the fort itself then the fort must be pulverised into pieces.

Raghava Chetana was in great difficulty. He spent a sleepless night. At last he was able to find out the secret of the fort by the grace of goddess Padmavati. The next morning he met Ala-ud-din and proposed to send an envoy to the king. The Sultan was very much pleased with this proposal. Two ladies by name Dhanasri and Mainarch were entrusted with the task of detecting Chitayi. But as the fort was inaccessible they could not go there. Then Raghav was appointed as the envoy and asked to go with those two ladies. The Sultan was tempted to see the fort. Raghava tried his best to dissuade him from doing so, but failed. The Sultan followed Raghava as an atendant of him. He saw big palaces, stables and many beautiful things. He separated himself from Raghav and went on wandering in disguise. He went near a lake which was as magnificent and vast as the ocean. All kinds of birds and animals were there. On the other bank of that lake there were the temples of Vishnu and Shiva. Chitayi would visit these temples daily with her attendants and at the same time have some entertainment with them. Accidentally that day she was present there when Ala-ud-din came there to see the lake. The Sultan was standing there and gazing at the birds. He felt like hunting them. He took out his gun and killed two or three sparrows. Hearing the noise all the birds flew away from that place. The attention of Chitayi and her friends was drawn towards that man. They guessed that a man in disguise was there on the other bank of the lake. The princess sent her friend to investigate it and went to the temple.

Her friend quickly went to the Sultan and went on watching his movements. She confronted him and threatened him of dire consequences. She would rise an alarm. She asked for his credentials. Seeing her the Sultan's face turned pale. He revealed all the secrets about him and promised that he would quit the fort immediately. But she did not trust him. But when the Sultan gave it in writing she accepted it and let him go. Leaving that place the

Sultan went to the winebazaar where Raghava Chetan had promised to meet.

In the king's court Raghava Chetan expressed his sinister motive. He asked the king to offer all his wealth, vacate the fort and offer his daughter Chitayi ; otherwise there was no way out of it. The king was very much upset. But thinking that the envoy should not be killed he let him free. With great difficulty Raghav and the Sultan hurried to climb down the fort. The friend of Chitayi was very happy at her achievement. She went and met the king in his court and narrated all the events in detail. She also presented the letter of the Lultan. The king was very much displeased with her foolishness. Because of her foolishness he had lost a golden opportunity.

Ala-ud-din had gone to the fort with two messangers disguised as nuns. They went to the palace and some how managed to have access to Chitayi. Seeing those nuns Chitayi treated them with all respect and asked them about their pilgrimage. After a lengthy conversation they advised Chitayi not to waste her youth and make the best use of it by taking to mirth. Then Chitayi had some doubts about those nuns. They quickly grasped this and cleared her doubts and changed the topic. They visited even the temple where Chitayi would go every day. Thus they had a first hand knowledge of all the secrets of the fort and left the place.

According to the information of the messengers, the next day Sultan went near the Shiva temple when Chitayi had arrived for worship. Chitayi was captured along with her attendants. The Sultan immediately flew away towards his camp with his trophy. Even the queens of Sultan were enthralled by the beauty af Chitayi. Struck with grief Chitayi neither ate nor slept. All the efforts to console her were unsuccessful.

The news of the capture of Chitayi spread everywhere and the Sultan returned to Delhi. Even in Delhi attempts were made to appease and console Chitayi but in vain. At last the Sultan gave up the idea of seducing her and kept her under the care of Raghava Chetan. He sanctioned twelve thousand tankas for her daily expenses. He also appointed fifty concubines to teach her music.

Sourasi hearing the news of his wife's capture plunged in sorrow. He relinquished wordly life and became a yogi. He went to Chandragiri, at invitation the Chandranath and engaged himsel for pursuit of Yoga. He took his veena, and went on wondering. On his the way he met the sadhus of Jatashankar from whom he got some newsabout the whereabouts of Chitayi. He set out in search of her. On his journey he went to Chandavar a city on the bank of the Jamuna. He stayed there for a while and spent his time in playing the veena. His play of veena had such a magical power that the young women

would be overpowered with love. He even charmed the birds and beasts that came on his way. The news of his magical music spread to Delhi also. Sourasi went to Delhi.

Chitayi was well acquainted of the wonderful talent of her husband. With a view to identify and find him she had kept her veena in the house of Gopalanayak the famous musician. In Delhi Sourasi passed through the house of Gopalanayak. He paused for a while there. People asked Gopalanayak to offer him his veena. Seeing the veena he was reminded of his beloved Chitayi. He played it in such a masterly way that the people who were there sbecame spell bound. One of the attendants of Chitayi was passing by that road. Hearing and seeing all that happened she ran to her mistress and narrated all those events.

Sourasi met Raghava Chetan. Raghav took him to the court of Ala-ud-din. Sourasi mesmerised the courtiers with his magical play of veena. He took the Sultan to the forest and showed him the spell of his magic on the birds and beasts. The sultan was so much impressed by it that he requested him to play before his queens and promised that he would reward anything that he could demand.

In the meantime Chitayi was also invited. Seeing Sourasi and hearing music tears rolled down from her eyes. They fell on the Sultan who was seated on his throne. The Sultan made enquiries about her and ultimately found out the secret that Sourasi was her husband. According to his promise he offered Chitayi to Sourasi and also presented them with elephants, horses and precious gems.

After leaving Delhi Sourasi went to Chandragiri and fell at the feet of his guru Chandranath. He blessed the couple and asked them to return to Dwarasamudra. Before leaving for Dwarasamudra he went to Devagiri where the couple were welcomed with great joy. Staying there for sometime Sourasi went to Dwarasamudra and met his people. After sometime he went back to Devagiri and became its ruler.

Now let us examine the historicity of this work. There are ample evidences to prove the historicity of this work. The major characters, important places and events are all undoubtedy historical. Devagiri was invaded by Ala-ud-din in the first instance in the year 1294 A.D. According to Kincaid and Parasnis Ala-ud-din was not the sultan at that time and he himself had led this expedition.[1] But according to this work Ramadev never resisted Ala-ud-din's general Nisurat Khan and rushed to Delhi for a treaty which is contrary to history. Perhaps this refers to the second expedition of Ala-ud-din's army. But the story about the daughter of Ramadev seems to be a fiction. According to the story the invasion is of great importance. According to history a great expedition was sent out under Malik

[1] *A History of the Maratha People*, pp. 39–40.

Kafur, Ala-ud-din's trusted general because Ramadev had failed to send tribute to him. But according to this romance the daughter of Ramadeva was the real reason and the latter must have been only a pretext, which finds no mention here. Of course there is ample evidence about the trecherousness of Ala-ud-din. He had invaded Chittor for the sake of Padmini and Gujarat for Kamaladevi and Devaladevi. Ramadeva undoubtedly had daughters, but we do not know their number. Barani says that in 1317 A.D. Kutbuddin marched to Devagiri and defeated Harapal the son-in-law of Ramadev in battle, took him prisoner and burnt him alive. 'Tajiat-ul Ansar's work of Abdulla Vasaff says that Ramadev the king of Deogir offered his daughter to the Sultan and saved himself and the country.

But what is of importance to the historians of Karnataka is the characters Sourasi, Chitayi and Gopalanayak. According to this work Sourasi is described as the son of Sri Narayana the king of Dwarasamudra. But in the Hoysala dynasty there does not seem to be a king who lived by the name of Srinarayana. But from the names of Keerti Narayana andVijayaNarayana the deities of this dynasty one may guess that they might be the titles of those kings. According to history during the reign of Ramadeva (1261–1308 A.D.) Dwarasamudra was ruled by Viranarasimha II and Ballala the III (1291–1327 A.D.) Viranaaasimha II's father Bueswara had fought with Krishna the father of Ramadeu. From history it is also proved that though both the dynasties claim themselves to be of the Yadava dynasty they were never friends. When Ala-ud-din's army invaded Dwarasamudra it was helped by Ramadeva. If Ramadeva's daughter was married to the Hoysala prince, he would never have helped Ala-ud-din's army, When this is the case Chitayi must have been the wife of Harapal, who ascended the throne of Deogir after Ramadev. But Harapala had nothing to do with the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra.

Kincaid and Parasnis say that Devaladevi was responsible for the conquest of Devagiri. Then can we say tnat Devaladevi and Chitayi were the same ? According to Amir Khusro Devaladevi was about to be married to Shankaradeva, the son of Ramadev. Then Chitayi must be certainly the daughter of Ramadeva.

But history does not mention anywhere the name of the daughter of Ramadev. In this work she is called by the name Chitayi. It is said that Viraballala III, king of Dwarasamudra had a wife by name Chikkayi or Chikkatayi who was a princess of the Tuluva dynasty.

Now let us discuss the identity of Sourasi or Samarasimha (?). He is said to be a connoisseur of art, a great exponent of veena. In the kavya it is also stated that when he learnt about the kidnap of his wife he became a mendicant, went to Chandragiri and had invitation from Chandranath. This Chandragiri has been identified by Hindi Scholars as the modren Chandragiri or Chikkabetta of

Sravanabelagola.[2] Chandranath has been said to be of Nathapanth. Gopalanayak, according to Dr. S. Srikantha Sastry was a musician from Karnataka. He must have been the tutor of Chitayi with whose help she was able to identify her husband. When Ala-ud-din came to the south he was greatly impressed by the musical talent of Gopalanayak. He asked Gopalanayak to accompany him to Delhi and settle down there. It would be interesting if more light is shed on the life and achievement of Gopalanayak. The patronage extended to Gopala nayak by Ala-ud-din shows that even the hard hearted sultan had a ear for music. An episode from history makes it clear that Ala-ud-din had a keen sense of appreciation for music and dance. Once when the army of Ala-ud-din invaded the temple of Srirangam and took away the idol of Sriranganatha, the musicians and dancers of the temple disguised as mendicants, went to Delhi and captivated the mind of Ala-ud-din by their music and dance. They pleased the Sultan so greatly and declined all rewards offered by the sultan, preferring instead the one idol of Ranganatha, among the many as the reward. The Sultan ordered that these men might be allowed to take the idol of their choice.[3]

And what is more; according to this romance music made him a man. Now it remains to be seen that whether Sourasi is an imaginary character or a historical one. We need not discuss the authenticity of Chitayi when once the identity of Sourasi is established.

Anyway this legend and its musical episode are well worth investigation which may throw a flood of light on the history of art in Karnataka and the patronage that the Kannada people gave to art and music in particular to veena.

Whether the historicity of Sourasi is proved or not its cultural value can never be ignored. It bears ample testimony to the august tradition of veena players of Karnataka and to the fact that Kannadigas were the forerunners of this great tradition.

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[2] *Chirayivarta* (Published by Nagari Pracharinisabha, Banaras), Introduction by Rudra Kashikeya, p. 30.

[3] Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar: *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 113–114.

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Mysore City and Kannada Literature

H. M. NAYAK

THE tale of a city is not just its geography. It is the History of the development of the Soul of a society or a culture or a community. The personality of an individual is developed by the heart, mind and intellect of the being; likewise, the personality of a city is also shaped out by its geography, its history, its political and social activities. A survey of the development of different cultures proves that each of these cultures is represented by a city; cities like Athens and Rome represented distinct cultures. Paris, London and New York—each of these cities represents a culture of the modern times. Even in our own country, cities like Calcutta, Poona, Madurai, Ahmedabad etc., represent distinct cultural traits. Personalities help us distinguish one individual from the other; it could be seen that these cities also have distinct personalities of their own. Mysore is a city of such distinction.

One of the varied aspects of this city is its literary activities. This essay is intended to present a broad outline of this aspect of the city. It is my intention to present a brief account of the inspiration provided by this city to the development of Kannada Literature.

The moment we think of the contribution of a city to the development of literature, we are reminded of the writers that have gone by and the writers that are living in the city. Looking from this point of view, the *magnum opus* source-book 'Karnataka Kavi-charite' (Vol. II) by late R. Narasimhacharya reveals to us the names and works of about 10 authors, of the 17th century, belonging to Mysore; the subsequent volume lists nearly 40 authors of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, belonging to Mysore. 'Sirigannada Grantha Kartara Charitra Kosha' by Venkatesha Sangali lists more than 50 authors belonging to Mysore. If an attempt is made to enumerate them, the number of writers since then, would exceed several hundreds. But all of them cannot be considered as belonging to Mysore. Some, who were born and brought up in Mysore, have been earning their livelihood elsewhere; others, who were born and brought up elsewhere, have been earning their bread here and are today residents of Mysore. There are also some who have spent a part of their life in Mysore. This is the story of all cities

and all villages. The mode of life, which used to bind us to the village of our birth from the day of our birth to the last moments of our life is now fast disappearing. Migration has become a dominant feature of the cities. The numbers of authors, scholars and researchers associated with the city of Mysore is undoubtedly large. Perhaps, no other city in Karnataka has had its association with such a large number of distinguished writers. I do not propose to enumerate these authors, critically review their works and decide their placements and thereby assess the contribution of Mysore City to the development of Kannada Literature. I intend to draw attention to the inspiration and dynamism that this city imparted to the growth of Kannada Literature.

One of our poets has sung of Mysore as the 'Eye of Kannada.' His conception of Mysore, of course, refers to the old Mysore State. But, his praise befits the city of Mysore more aptly. Of the several cultural centres of Karnataka, Mangalore, Mysore and Dharwar are the three cities that deserve to be mentioned. It would be no exaggeration if I say that we do not come across a Kannada city like Mysore which has preserved to this day its distinct qualities. On account of several historical reasons, Mysore has not only become the eye of Karnataka but also its heart. The works relating to Kannada championed and carried out by this city have, for other towns and cities, become ideals to be pursued and practised. This city is the animating centre of the activities relating to Kannada; the very basis or sustaining force of Kannada culture. As a result, the role played by this city in the development of Kannada literature is worthy to be remembered for ever. Even now, the literary activities of this city are evidence enough for the lively interest evinced by its people. This liveliness and enthusiasm, in respect of the literary and cultural activities, can rarely be witnessed in any other city.

The two main reasons that contributed to this city becoming a powerful centre of Kannada literature and culture are: (i) the Palace and (ii) the University. Sustained by these two forces, Kannada literature derived commendable encouragement and inspiration. The city of Mysore attracted versatile talents. It became a home of intellectuals imbued with a love for strenuous work. Thus was Kannada enriched here.

After the downfall of the Vijayanagara empire, the Wodeyars of Mysore ascended the golden throne of Karnataka. The responsibility of sustaining the cultural heritage of Karnataka, endearingly patronised and looked after by the royal dynasties of the Kadamba, Chalukya, Hoysala and Vijayanagara folds, fell to the lot of the Wodeyars of Mysore. Though Srirangapattana was the centre of activities, namely, the capital of the Wodeyars, the scene was shifted

to Mysore after Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar. The Mysore Palace became a source of inspiration to the poets and artists. During the reign of Chamaraja Wodeyar who succeeded Mummadi Krishnaraja, the development of Kannada literature received a great fillip. From this point of view, this period stands out prominently. The 'Karnataka Bhashojjivini shala' was opened in Mysore by Chamaraja Wodeyar with the specific purpose of the uplifting of Kannada Language and Literature. The establishment of the Mysore Oriental Library is yet another fruit of his love of scholarship. The credit of establishing the Epigraphical department of Mysore also goes to Chamaraja Wodeyar. The late B. L. Rice collected, critically edited and published the inscriptions of the State so well that it set a model for workers in this field. The work continued by R. Narasimhachar is being fruitfully carried on even to this day. The greatest contribution by Sri Chamaraja to the renaissance in Kannada Literature was the establishment of 'Sri Chamarajendra Karnataka Nataka Sabha.' Inspired by a Parsi drama, the Maharaja founded this dramatic association. Many poets and scholars of the court took to writing plays in Kannada, some taking to originals and some to translations. Till then, it could be said that there were no dramas at all. Several famous plays in Sanskrit, English and other Indian languages were translated into Kannada. Of the court poets, Basavappa Sastry who won the laurel of 'Abhinava Kalidasa', deserves to be specially mentioned for his extra-ordinary genius. If the different branches of English Literature have found their way into the realm of Kannada Literature, it must be said that this work by Chamaraja was responsible.

This tradition was continued by Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar who is known as the 'Rajarshi' (the king and the saint at the same time). In his court were scholars, like Srinivasacharya, Gopala Krishna Shastry and Seetharama Shastry, who have several Kannada works to their credit. Bellave Narahari Shastry and Nanjangud Srikanta Shastry have each written about 50 dramas. Scholars and poets with modern outlook also derived sufficient encouragement at the court of Krishnaraja. Since he had a great love for Music and Literature, he was extremely liberal with regard to their growth and development. The establishment of the University of Mysore is the result of his foresight and vision. The credit of helping hundreds of writers monetarily, bestowing laurels and encouraging them, goes to him. On account of this patronage by the palace, many of the writers joined in singing the invocation song on the ushering of the renaissance in Kannada. Many of the great names in Modern Kannada literature are of those who were honoured by the palace.

Sri Jayachamaraja Wodeyar, who succeeded Krishnaraja Wodeyar to the throne, rendered great service to Kannada Literature

by the publications of 'Sri Jayachamaraja Grantha Male.' He was responsible for bringing out the entire Vedic literature into Kannada comprising in about 300 volumes the Upanishads, Brahma Sutras, Bhagavadgita and several Puranas, as also the 30 volumes of Rigveda Samhita. Perhaps a work of this magnitude has not been done in any other Indian Language. This is surely one of the greatest achievements of our time. The Kannadigas are ever grateful to Sri Jayachamaraja Wodeyar, who pursued the ideals set forth by his predecessors and got this work done.

Under the rule of these three Maharajas Kannada literature derived sufficient patronage from the palace.

The University of Mysore which came into being in 1916, is yet another great force that sustained Kannada· The Chancellor, Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar has, in setting forth the objectives of founding the University said : "Naturally, I have great interest with regard to the special encouragement that should be given to the study of Kannada Literature, included under the scheme of this University. We are all aware of the fact that the study of the regional languages is being neglected nowadays. I am extremely happy at the arrangements done by our University for the exhaustive and uninterrupted study of Kannada and of the other southern languages prevalent in Mysore."

Mysore University is the first University of Karnataka. Overcoming several hurdles thrown in its way, it is fulfilling the objects of its farsighted founder. Several schemes drawn for the development of Kannada have been translated into action here. The very moment we think of the University of Mysore, we are reminded of the renaissance in Kannada, and of Prof. B. M. Srikantiah who was responsible for this renaissance. 'Sri' is an epoch-making force in modern Kannada literature. The publication of his 'English Gitegalu' in 1926 actually ushered in a revolution in the history of Kannada literature. Sri Srikantaih opened the eyes of a generation; he breathed a new life into literature ; and became the leading light for an entire generation. Under his dynamic leadership, the University of Mysore was reverberating with activities relating to Kannada Literature. The anthologies of poetry published by the students of the Maharaja's College namely 'Kiriya Kanike' and 'Taliru' created new pathways. Many of the contributors, whose compositions found place in these anthologies, are to day our leading writers. The M.A. classes in Kannada were started during the same year (1926) and this event marks our good fortune too. B. M. Srikantiah, who was the Professor of English was also the honorary Professor of Kannada. The late T. S. Venkannayya, A. R. Krishna Sastry, T. N. Srikantiah and Dr. D. L. Narasimhachar, who were Professors of Kannada and set up new traditions, spent the

greater part of their life here in this city. It is our good fortune that the other Professor, namely, Dr. K. V. Puttappa is with us even now and is a glorious example of creative literature.

Another great achievement of the University of Mysore is its publications. It has published in large numbers, a splendid variety of books ranging from the popular ones to the scholarly ones. The number of its publications so far exceeds 750. This number constitutes a record not with reference to our country only but with reference to the Universities of the World also. Scientific editing of the ancient classics, publication of original works and translations of classics relating to various branches of science—these are the foremost works undertaken here. Another series of books, namely, the University Extension Lecture Series, deserves to be mentioned here. The teachers in the University are sent to rural areas and they deliver lectures on the latest developments in their fields of study. These lectures are then made available in the form of booklets, sold at a cheap price. This is the scheme, which has come to be known even in England as the 'Mysore Scheme.' Nearly 200 booklets have been published under this scheme. Generally, 5,000 copies of each of these booklets are being printed. Many of these have been reprinted several times, thus testifying to their popularity. The subjects they deal with range from Anthropology to Zoology. Another feather in the cap of the University is the publications of three quarterlies devoted, as they are now, exclusively to Literature, Sciences and Humanities.

Mysore University is that platform on which the invocation song of the renaissance of Kannada literature was sung; it is that crucible which moulded Kannada Language so that it could become an efficient vehicle for the modern sciences and thoughts. It is here that the poets, research scholars and scholars in the various branches of Science took up the cause of Kannada. This was responsible for the abundant strength and capacity of Kannada. Kannada has evolved as a powerful new vehicle. It took nearly fifty years for the dream of Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar to be realised. The literary activities of the Palace and the University have been responsible for securing for Mysore a unique place in the history of Kannada Language and Literature.

Another feature of the city is that the printing presses were established here quite early. The Government Branch Press was started here by about 1890. But there is reason to believe that the printing work must have commenced here prior to the establishment of this press. During the decade between 1850 and 1860, some of Mummadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar's works have been printed. Among them is 'Sankhya Ratna Kosha' a Marathi book on the game of Chess, printed in the year 1852 (as is evident from the book

itself). His 'Saugandhika Parinaya' was printed by about 1860. In the geneological accout of the rulers namely, 'Sriman Maharajara Vamshavali', it is stated that a printing press was established at Bangalore during 1841-42 for governmental work. In another place in the samework, along with a list of the works by the Maharaja it is mentioned that these books were printed at the Ambavilas Lithograph Printing Press; and distributing these copies among the scholars in the court, the scholars at large and the officials, the highness pleased them." Ambavilas is situated at Mysore. Perhaps, the Maharaja must have arranged for the establishment of a press for printing his books directly under his guidance. If this is true, this must be the first printing press in Mysore. Compared to Bangalore, it is true that printing commenced in Mysore a little later. It is equally true that it made rapid progress. Prose-works attributed to Mummadi Krishnaraja, and several ancient classics have been printed in large numbers. The publications of 'Karnataka Kavya Manjari' and 'Kavya Kalanidhi', were printed at the 'Sadvidya Mandir' and 'Star Press'. The publications of the 'Karnataka Grantha Male' were backed by the 'G.T.A. Press.' Some Veerashaiva works were printed by the 'Jaganmohini Press.' Even to this day, this city has housed two or three presses which are famous throughout the State. The credit of printing good many Sanskrit books is also a special feature of this city.

Kannada journalism also has had its roots in this city early. The 'Mysore Vrittanta Bodhini', published in June 1859, is the first weekly of Karnataka. It continued its publication till 1864. Bhashyam Tirumalacharya and Bhashyacharya—the father and the son who were running the above weekly—started the 'Karnataka Prakashika's fortnightly, in July 1865. It had to stop its publication in 1868. Later, in 1873, Tirumalacharya again started its publication, but then as a weekly. It ran for a long time, namely 1896. In the old issues of this weekly, available for reference only at the British Museum, captions like the Tanti Vartamana Sangraha (Telegraphic news in a nut-shell), Gazettina Saramsha (Gazette in brief), Oladesha Mattu Tallukina Vrittantha (News in the country and around the taluks) and Naimittika Vishaya Nyasa (Occasional notes) can be seen. A high flown style and an independent attitude are evident in this weekly. 'Vrittanta Patrike' started by Henry Hague is another old news paper of this city. It was in existence till the thirties of this century. In 1885, M. Venkatakrishnaiah started his first news paper 'Vrittanta Chintamani'. The role played by this journal in the political affairs of the State is too well known for an expatiation here. The fact that the educated ones were drawn towards journalism, marked a significant step in the development of literature. It could be said that articles in prose on current

issues had their beginnings here. It is here that I should mention another important factor. Readers of newspapers are nowadays very familiar with the serialisation of stories and novels. But an attempt to serialise an entire epic could be traced as early as 1892 in 'Kavya Manjari'. The services of Sri M. A. Ramanuja Iyengar and S. G. Narasimhacharya in this behalf are to be remembered for ever. Their courage, sincerity, devotion and enterprising nature are quite unparalleled in the history of Kannada literature. 'Kavya Kalanidhi Male' marks a continuation of the efforts of 'Kavya Manjari'. Kannadigas are very grateful to those two great scholars for bringing out the ancient Kannada classics. The credit of heralding a new chapter in the history of literary activities goes to these two scholars.

The role played by the Oriental Research Institute in finding out and bringing to light ancient classics is of no small measure. In addition to procuring manuscripts of ancient classics and preserving them, the Institute has rendered invaluable service in publishing scientifically edited texts, edited with the assistance of scholars. Some years ago, the Kannada section of this Institute was merged with the Institute of Kannada Studies. This is now an important section of the Institute of Kannada Studies.

A word must be said on the role played by the 'Kannada Sangha' of the Maharaja's College, in the Kannada Renaissance Movement. The different activities of this association, it must be noted, were the initial platforms of many a leading writer of our times. As a result of the enthusiasm of a few teachers of the University, the Adult Literacy Campaign took its shape here in this city, for the first time. The then Amateur Scheme has today grown to the stature of a great institution. This institution, in addition to publishing hundreds of books for the neo-literates has been publishing a monthly, namely 'Pustaka Prapancha' on the lines of 'Readers Digest'. It is publishing a weekly named 'Belaku' exclusively meant for neo-literates. These publications are well nigh a quarter century old.

Publishing concerns of State-wide fame are concentrated in Mysore. Kavyalaya, Usha Sahitya Male, Sharada Mandira, Mohana Prakashana, Suruchi Prakashana, Bharati Prakashana, Viswa Sahitya, D. V. K. Murthy, Peoples Book House, T. V. Memorial Series, Vidyanidhi Prakashana etc., are situated in this town. The number of books published in Mysore is not matched by the publications of any other city in the state. The complete works of Vivekananda and Gandhiji were published here. Under the auspices of the University, the Institute of Kannada Studies and the Prasaranga have thrown open new horizons. A Bibliography of printed Kannada books, Revision of the English-Kannada Dic-

tionary and the preparation of the Kannada Encyclopaediae and revision and reprint of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* volumes—all these works are being done here in Mysore.

The great contemporary poets, research scholars and critics are in Mysore. Many talented writers of the new generation have settled here. Great institutions contributing to the development of Language and Literature like the Institute of Kannada Studies, the Central Institute of Indian Languages, the Epigraphical Department of the Central Government, All India Institute of Speech and Hearing, the Southern Regional Office of Anthropological Survey—all these are situated here on a single campus. A linguistic-cum-literary environment of this type is not bestowed to any other city. Making use of these opportunities, we could anticipate a speedier development of our literature.

What is it that an author wants? Is it wealth or a great Laurel? or a marble idol? A poet poses this question. He himself answers it. Neither of these does he want. What he wants is discerning readers (a discerning audience). Mysore is the home-land of such discerning readers. Now and then, they have been inviting Kannada Writers and honouring them, thereby expressing their appreciation. Three literary conferences have been held here under the presidentship of H. V. Nanjundaiah, Alur Venkata Rao and Shivarama Karanth. Mysore is the first city which has had this unique privilege of conducting three conferences. Mysore has nursed a spirit of tolerance and mutual respect with regard to other languages and literatures. Several National Seminars have been held here.

One of the main roads of this city is named after Adipampa. The adjoining road bears the name of Kalidasa, and both meet the Valmiki road. This christening of the roads has been done at a time when no persuasions and compulsions were brought forth, when no campaigns and movements were taken out to achieve such objectives. This is a meaningful example of the love of literature of this city.

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Folklore Traditions in Mysore City

J. S. PARAMASHIVAIAH

MYSORE City may be called the 'Home' of Folklore Traditions. People here are even to this day unaffected by modernity, as big industries based on high technology and sciences are yet to be set up in an appreciable degree. In the several rural areas like Padavarahalli, Vontikoppal and Kannegowdanakoppal and areas of the city, like Ashokapura, Gandhinagar, Veeranagere, Budubudike keri, Vokkaligakeri, Sunnadakeri, Bandikeri and Kumbarageri, inhabited mostly by the rural folk, folklore is still prevailing in all its purity. The large number of common people sustain the tradition of folklore even to this day. Even now, there are Folk Artists in the city, who revel in folklore.

Instances are not wanting when the folk invoke the help of Gods and Goddesses like Chamundeswari, Nanjundeswara, Chunchanagiri Bhairava, Mahadeswara, Siddappaji and Rachappaji by way of sacrificial *pujas* whenever epidemic diseases haunt the city. Some of the worshippers go on pilgrimages to Chikkallur near Kollegal and Kappadi near Krishnarajanagara traversing the entire distance on foot. During the festivals like *Deepavali* and *Sivaratri* a large number of pilgrims from Mysore walk up to Mahadeswara hills invoking the blessings of Mahadeswara all the way through group songs. While witnessing these celebrations of various festivals, and the Folk plays and arts of the traditional style, it becomes quite clear that Mysore still maintains the old Folklore traditions.

According to Folk tales, Mysore was just a small village while Karuganahalli was a big town. Mara Naika of Karuganahalli offered himself to marry the daughter of the king of Mysore; but caste restrictions would not permit. The king was afraid of Mara Naika as he was a powerful and a cruel person. At this stage one Vodeyar came to his rescue. He was no other than Racha Vodeyar, the disciple of Manteswamigalu of Boppagowdanapura. The king invited the Vodeyar and narrated his helpless condition. Then Racha Vodeyar got a huge rice heap prepared and threw the rice in all the four directions. Wherever rice was thrown, there developed pearls and diamonds. On the advice of Racha Vodeyar, the king got

Mara Naika to his court, agreeing to give his daughter in marriage to him. When Mara Naika came unarmed, the king got him killed. From that period, Karuganahalli lost its importance and Mysore began to prosper. Then Racha Vodeyar proceeded to Kappadi in Krishnarajanagar Taluk and settled down there on the banks of the Kaveri. By his blessings, Mysore developed into a big town and the kings of Mysore affixed the title 'Vodeyar' to their names since then. Even now, the kings of Mysore are devoted to the deities of Kappadi (Rachappaji), Chikkallur (Siddappaji) and Boppagowdanapura (Manteswamigalu).

It is said that Nanjunda of Nanjanagud and Chamundeswari of Mysore had a romance. While Chamundi was bathing in the tank Karanjikere, Nanjunda passed that way and took away the clothes of Chamundi which were kept on the tank bund. Chamundi however covered herself with the long tufts of hair and ran up the hills. Nanjunda pursued her and won her heart.

There were further occasions when Chamundi helped the Dalavoys of Mysore capture Veeraraja of Periapatna, and defeat Magadi Kempegowda on a request by Sree Rangadhama. Such myths and legends are found in plenty in the history of Mysore. Even today, the village youths refer to Mysore in songs and ballads, especially in cart songs :

ಹಾಳಾದ ಮನಸು ಏನೇನ ಬಯಸೀತು
ಈರನಗೆರೆಯಾಚೆ ಮೈಸೂರು ಬೀದೀಲಿ
ಈರುಳ್ಳಿ ಮಾರೊ ಹುಡುಗೀಯ

'Oh! this bloody heart pines for that beautiful girl who sells onion in the out-skirts of Veeranagere on the streets of Mysore.'

Mysore is more or less the cradle of Folklore. It attracts Folk artists like Dombidasaru, Dombaru, Kole Basavanna, Snake Charmers, Koravanjis, Kurumamas etc., from far and near. In addition to this, there are a number of traditional Folk artists who have settled down in Mysore. Of these, Kamsale Devara Guddaru and Manteswami Neelagararu, Mudukuthore Mallikarjuna Goravaru and Ellamana Choudikeyavaru are prominent. *Konti Puja* is an important ritual for the women folk. A short discription of the three important traditions—*Konti Puje*, Manteswami and Kamsale traditions is given hereunder.

Konti Puja :

Konti Puje is an offering of devotion to Kuntidevi of *Mahabharata*. Her sons, the Pandavas are said to be the pioneers in the field of agriculture ; and the ryots still maintain this belief. While the Pandavas were away in the forests, they lived the life of ryots. The ryots sang the glorious past of the Pandavas while

sympathising with the difficult part of their life in the forests thus:

ಮೂಗಳ ಮುತ್ತಿನೋರು ನಾಗಳ ಹೊನ್ನಿನೋರು
ಸಾಲು ಮಾಳಿಗೆ ಮನೆಯೋರು ಧರುಮಾರು
ಕ್ವಾರಣ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಬಗೆ ಹೇಳಿ

'Oh! The Pandavas were so rich with thirty seers of pearls, forty seers of gold and a long row of beautiful houses. Those who were so rich and noble, tell us how they have now been constrained to begging!'

The Pandavas, who ruled a vast country, are now languishing in the forest, undergoing all kinds of difficulties. This sight was quite unbearable to the farmers. This feeling in their minds, made them sing thus:

ಕೊಂತ್ಯಮ್ಮ ಕೊಟ್ಟಣ ಕುಟ್ಟೆ ಭೀಮು ಭಿಕ್ಷವ ಬೇಡಿ
ಅವರರುಜುನರಾಯ ಕರು ಕಾದು ಕಂಬಳಿ ಹೊದ್ದು
ಎಂಥೋರಿಗೆಂಥ ವನವಾಸ

'It happened that great Kunti has to pound rice, Bhimasena has to beg, that Arjuna has to graze the calves with a rug on his shoulder, what a great suffering for such noble people!'

This land of Pandavas' sojourn was really blessed. Their noble ways of living amidst the ryots can never be forgotten. So aptly they sang thus:

ಸಿರಿಯುಳ್ಳ ಧರ್ಮರು ಸತ್ತರು ಎನದಿರಿ
ಸತ್ತರೀಭೂಮಿ ಉಳಿಯಾದು ಪಾಂಡವರು
ಬಿತ್ತಿ ಹೋಗ್ಯವರೆ ಅವರೇಯು

'Do not say that Pandavas are dead and gone. If they die this universe will never survive. These Pandavas have sowed the 'Avare'[1] grains.'

Even now, the common women praise the Pandavas in poetic lines, while grinding *ragi* or working in the fields. They remember how the mother Kuntidevi endured all the sufferings while her sons were away in the forest. Praising the greatness of Kuntidevi in song, work or plays almost became a habit among the farmers.

Konti Puje takes place for sixteen days in the month of *Kartika*. It is during this time, the women revel in the praise of *Kunti Mate*.

Konti Puje is arranged on the verandah of a selected house. The verandah is cleaned with cowdung and *rangoli* is drawn in the centre, near the western wall. On it will be planted a mud figure of a female to represent Kuntidevi. The figure will be adorned with flowers and leaves; and with *Kumkum* on the face. Women will sit in two groups on opposite sides and they will begin singing all about the glory of *Kunti Mate*. After the Puja, sweets will be distributed.

[1] A kind of grain grown in Old Mysore area.

Many songs will be sung by either groups.

Even to this day in several parts of Mysore city, women of the agricultural community celebrate *Konti Puje* in the same old traditional style.

Manteswamy Traditions :

Of the traditional Folk singers, Manteswamigalu are very prominent. They are also called Neelagars. As they are publicising the *lilas* of Siddappaji, they are also called Siddappaji *lilegars*. The name *lilegara* changed to Neelagara in course of time.

Siddappaji is a disciple of Manteswamy, the Adiguru of this tradition. He has settled down in Chikkallur near Kollegala. Rachappaji is another disciple, and it was he, who made the Mysore rulers wealthy and prosperous. Of the three, Manteswamy is the foremost Guru. He went to Boppagowdanapura near Malavalli and settled down there. The Neelagaras adore these Gurus in their religious story 'Manteswamy Kathe'. So they are also called Manteswamigalu, Manteda Ayya and Mantedevaru. They inhabit mostly Mysore, Mandya and Bangalore Districts, but, Mysore city is the centre of their activity. The Folk-singers of this tradition are mostly settled in this city in parts of Ashokapura and Jalageri. Very important Folk Artists like Malavalli Rachaiah, Gurubasavaiah, Doddarachaiah and others live in the city of Mysore.

Mantedevaru put on a red head dress, black long coat, *dhoti*, *rudrakshi* beads in the neck and *vibhuti* on the forehead. They carry a *tamburi* (a musical instrument) which is quite short and flat, but it is a fine accompaniment for their folk songs. One end of the instrument is ornamented like the toad of a serpent or the face of a lion. With this in hand, they go about singing for alms, sometimes they are invited to sing day and night on certain sacred days. They will be generally two in number—one to advance and the other to follow up. The Neelagaras sing 15 to 20 lengthy ballads—all about the life of Manteswamy and his great benevolence. The other ballads are the battle of Periyapatna and Lingarajamma's story which are based on historical themes. Stories of Nanjundeswara, Mudukutore Mallikarjuna, Biligiriranga and Cheluvarayaswamy are related to the sacred shrines. Few *Lavanis* are sung about *Sivasaranas* along with Sarangadhara, Ganapatiraya, Chennigaraya, Balanagamma and others.

Kamsale Tradition :

Kamsale Devaraguddaru belong to Mahadeswara tradition. There is a very sacred place Mahadeswara Hills near Kollegal in Mysore District. The devotees walk up the hills for the *darshan* of Mahadeswara from places far and near—Bangalore, Mandya, Mysore and from

Madras areas. Among these devotees there are some folk singers called *Devaraguddaru* as they sing all the way, in praise of God Mahadeswara. The *Devaraguddas* are generally found in Kannada areas. *Gudda* means a devotee and *Devaru* is God; being the devotees of God Mahadeswara, they are called by this name. They sing to the accompaniment of instruments like *ekatara* and a brass *tala* called *kamsale*. These singers are also called *Kamsaleyavaru*. This *tala* is the size of a palm in one hand and a metallic cup like thing in the other. While beating each other, there comes a ringing vibration which is followed by song. The songs generally speak of the glory of Mahadeswara, his blessings on the devotees and also, as destroyer of the evil doers. Along with this, they also sing other Neelagara's ballads except the Manteswamy story. The chief among the singers holds a stick as representing God Madaiah and it is worshipped.

The *Guddaru* form a batch of three. While narrating folk stories the senior sits in the middle and with *kamsale* in hand, goes on repeating the story. The others use the instruments of *ekatari* and *dammadi* and follow the senior. These are also invited by the people to narrate the stories during festivals and other sacred days.

The *Kamsale Guddas* have no particular dress. They can be identified by the *kamsale* in hand, beads in the neck and *vibhuti* on the forehead. The *Guddas* are known for their folk dance too. To the accompaniment of *kamsale tala*, they dance singing in praise of the Lord Mahadeswara. The dance is a regular physical feat keeping rhythm in tune with the song; in various poses of jumping, sitting, sleeping and swift motions with the *talas* in hand, is a sight by itself; in a way it infuses devotion in the minds of the spectators.

In Mysore, a large number of these artists are living. Mention may be made of Kamsale Mahadevaiah of All India fame, Hanumaiah of Jalapuri, Kukkanahalli Mariyayya and Padavarahalli Madaiah. Folk tradition is firmly rooted in Mysore. Folk artists are living in large numbers. It is here that special research could be undertaken to explore the Gems of folklore.

35

Role of Culture in Language Teaching

U. P. UPADHYAYA

ಕುಲವ ನಾಲಗೆಯರುಹಿತು is a well-known statement of Raghavanka which illustrates the fact that one's tongue (i.e. speech) reflects ones family background. If face is the index of one's heart, speech is the index of one's civilization or culture. It is our common experience that however great may be one's status, very often his cultural background is displayed by the expressions used by him. The moment one opens his mouth we can recognise the region he comes from, the caste or the social group he represents and the civilization of the environment he is brought up in. ಮಾತೆಂಬುದು ಜ್ಯೋತಿರ್ಲಿಂಗ and ನುಡಿದದ್ದೆಲ್ಲ ಗಾಯತ್ರಿ refer to the speech of the soft-spoken gentleman of noble birth.

If the speech behaviour of an individual reflects his cultural background the behaviour of a language reflects the cultural heritage of the entire speech community which uses that language as vehicle for self expression. Hence language can be viewed as the cultural expression of the community as a whole. Many of the expressions found in a language are not understood properly by a speaker of another language without the knowledge of the culture of the people. Many idioms and phrases are the paraphrases of the peculiar cultural traditions, values, hopes and aspirations, folk beliefs, customs and manners and the system of etiquette of the speech community in which the language flourished. By the word 'culture' here we mean the culture in the anthropological sense also.

It is true that every language has a grammatical structure of its own, different from any other language and the prime concern of a learner is to grasp that structure. But we should not go ahead with the notion that once we master the grammatical structure of a language we can interact with the members of that community with a feeling of oneness. The practical experience of those who have learnt a second language to interact and live with the members of that speech community has shown the danger of proceeding without a proper understanding of the native culture. If an American student learning Kannada in Mysore meets the professor of Kannada and addresses him ನೀನು ಯಾವಾಗ ಬಂದೆ the professor as well as the onlookers will be shocked to hear this expression though the student has not made any 'grammatical' mistake in that expression. No grammar book of

Kannada can brand this as an ungrammatical sentence since he has used a singular subject and singular verb to refer to a single individual. In a second-language learning situation a student will not only have such occasions of giving such 'cultural shocks' but also instances of receiving cultural shocks when he observes specific expressions used in specific social and cultural contexts. If he has to avoid such embarrassing situations he must learn what can be called the 'cultural grammar' of the language in addition to the linguistic grammar. The cultural grammar in the above context determines the use of plural verbal form and plural pronoun even though the person referred to is a single individual. It also displays one of the cultural traits of the speakers of this language namely showing respect to strangers and elders. It is because of this that a teacher is advised to introduce only the plural forms ನೀವು 'you' and ಅವರು 'he/she' in the initial stages of teaching Kannada to a foreigner. Singular forms can be introduced only in the later half of the course.

Every expression used in a language is to be viewed in relation to the socio-cultural context in which it is used, the role of the speaker and the spoken, relationship between the speaker and the spoken, the attitude of the speaker towards the spoken, the cultural background of the speaker, etc. The selection of the appropriate expression in the appropriate context is the domain of the cultural grammar.

A few more illustrations can be given here. A person learning Hindi will have a problem of using *tu* (तू) *tum* (तुम) and *ap* (आप) while meeting a stranger. Only the socio-cultural context can determine the selection of one of these three pronouns. It is not simply the relative social status of the speaker and the spoken that is crucial here but also the attitude and the civilization of the speaker and the environment in which the speaker is brought up that is responsible for the selection of a particular pronominal form. While taking leave of a person a Kannada speaker will consider the word 'going' as inauspecious and against his folk belief and hence will use the word ಬರ್ತೀನಿ ('I will come') though he is doing just the opposite of what he is saying. Similarly for blowing off the lamp or removing bangles from a married woman's hand many Indian languages use the terms meaning opposite to what is actually done. When the husband was referred to by an Indian wife as ಅವರು 'they' (plural) an American student exclaimed 'how many husbands do you have ?'. When told that a husband is considered to be master of his wife as per Indian culture and he is to be treated with respect by her and hence she should use the plural pronoun, the reply was 'I do not consider my husband as superior to me'. The present author had a difficult time in convincing that woman saying, 'whether you give respect or not, you have to use the plural form while referring to your husband in Kannada if your Kannada is to be acceptable to the native Kannada speakers and if

you want to avoid causing cultural shocks to the people of this land'. It is told that once an Indian student approached a British-born principal of a college in Mysore with a big complaint that another student had abused him with an insulting expression in Kannada meaning 'widow's son' to which the principal coolly replied, 'what insult is there in that expression ? I am myself a widow's son.'

The English language is well known for its wealth of expressions showing gratitude, extra courtesy, etc., as can be seen fromht e expressions like 'thank you', 'excuse me', 'please', 'sorry', etc. Even if you pass on the salt container or water jug to the person seated next to you over a dining table the expression of gratitude 'thank you' is expected. An English speaker may feel a little uncomfortable if an Indian does not use such expressions and hence while talking in English with English speakers we may have to cultivate the habit of using such expressions. But this does not mean that we have to coin similar expressions in our language too. People have now begun to coin expressions like ದಯುಪಿಟ್ಟು, ಕ್ಷಮಿಸಬೇಕು, ಸುಪ್ರಭಾತ on the model of the corresponding English expressions. Each language has its own way of expressing gratitude and using polite terms in proper contexts and that need not be copied from other languages. The questions that an English speaker will ask while starting to learn Kannada are 'what is the Kannada equivalent of "please", "excuse me", "thank you", etc. ?' and a Kannadiga need not feel shy of saying that some of these do not have equivalents in Kannada, that some of them are used in a very restricted context and that some of these ideas are expressed in some other form depending on the specific socio-cultural context.

Terms of greeting, address, exclamation and applauding, expression of appreciation and gratitude, expressions commonly used while meeting a person or taking leave of a person, mode of giving respect to elders and strangers are found differently in different languages. ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿದ್ದೀರಾ, ಊಟ ಆಯ್ತಾ, ಬರ್ತೀನ್ರೀ, ಹೋಗಿಬನ್ನಿ, ತುಂಬ ಸಂತೋಷ, ದೇವರು ಒಳ್ಳೆದುಮಾಡಲಿ, ಏನು ಸಮಾಚಾರ, ಪರವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ, ತುಂಬ ಹಿಂಸೆ, ಅಯ್ಯೋ ಪಾಪ and many such value-loaded expressions cannot be taught through translations and are to be studied properly and a student of foreign culture must know the social context in which such expressions are to be used, the persons to whom such expressions are to be used and the way in which they are to be used. Even the facial expressions and intonations which play a vital role in effective communication are socially and culturally determined (Shaking of head horizontally has different meanings—totally contrastive—in the Indian and American systems).

Second-language teaching has shown remarkable progress in the last few decades in all its component parts. But satisfactory progress is not shown in the teaching of the foreign cultural content. To learn just a language narrowly conceived in terms of its grammatical

structure without a commensurate understanding of the people's way of life and the linguistic behaviour in specific socio-cultural context is not enough for a meaningful co-operation and interaction between the peoples of different cultural traditions and social pattern. Literature too cannot be properly understood and appreciated without reference to the culture that produced it and reflected in it.

Contrastive study of the target language and the mother tongue of the learner is very much emphasized and it has contributed much in designing the foreign language courses and framing the suitable drill material which helps in acquiring a new language as a set of habits. But at the same time enough emphasis is not put on providing the learner with the cultural background required for selecting the right expression in the right context, which is grammatically and culturally acceptable to the speakers of that language. The foreign language teacher, the text book writer and the curriculum planner have to take a special note of this in designing the course with suitable cultural contents in appropriate places. A contrastive study of two cultures—the native culture of the learner and the culture of the new speech community whose language or literature he is learning—should find a place in our teaching strategy. This will enable the teacher to plan, grade and design his instructional material linguistically and culturally to equip the student with the background needed for a successful communication with the foreign speech community without causing cultural shocks and embarrassing situations.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

36

Karnataka and Vedanta

S. S. RAGHAVACHAR

I

Dr. Srikantha Sastry is a scholar and historian of the highest distinction in Karnataka and it is fitting that an appropriate tribute to his contribution to the advancement of learning should be put on record. His admirers and students are to be warmly congratulated on their endeavour in this direction. It is no less an obligation to bring together studies that pertain to his wide field of scholarly interest and also continue the lines of his investigation. A publication embodying this two-fold effort is an altogether admirable mode of honouring the great scholar.

II

To a layman, such as the present writer, Dr. Sastry's wide field of scholarship seems to have three focal points of special interest. They are the cultural history of India in general, the history of Karnataka in all its aspects and the Vedanta as propounded by Sri Sankaracharya. He has works of an extensive nature furthering our knowledge in these inter-related spheres. Perhaps a brief note indicating the contribution of Karnataka to Vedanta may not be out of place, in a publication seeking to honour his achievements.

III

It is expedient to adopt an order of statement which reverses the chronological order. The major religio-philosophical movement in Karnataka which expresses itself in the medium of the region mostly is Veera-Saivism. It is a grand version of Saivism bereft of the narrowing elements of mythology, Brahminical ritualism and the caste-ridden social ethics. It is a simple monotheism culminating in monism. It incorporates the *Karma-yoga* of the *Gita* in its significant, concept of '*Kayaka*'. The movement was not confined to the metaphysical plane like Kashmir-Saivism and was not confined to mystical devotionalism like the *Saiva Siddhanta* of Tamil Nadu. It became a powerful, socially self-conscious historic force, without sacrificing the essence of Jnana and Bhakti. That it falls within the fold of Vedanta requires no detailed demonstration in view of

Basavesvara himself quoting from the *Purusha-Sukta*, *Gayatri-Mantra* and the *Svetasvatara Upanishad*. Even independent of Sripati's *Srikarabhashya* the vedantic identity stands clear and indisputable.

IV

It is a special piece of good luck that the great founder of *Dvaita* belonged to Karnataka. It is true that he expressed himself in Sanskrit, the current medium of Indian philosophy and it is also undeniable that the greatest works of the school of thought are in Sanskrit. But at least four of the great masters, Sri Madhva himself, Sri Vyasaraya and Sri Vadiraja and Sri Raghavendraswami hailed from Karnataka. The wisdom of the Sanskrit classics very soon distilled itself in the huge bulk of the devotional lyrics of the Haridasas. Many of the great names in the galaxy of these saints Sripada Raya, Sri Vyasaraya, Sri Purandaradasa, Sri Kanakadasa, Sri Vijayadasa and Sri Raghavendraswami have left lasting treasures of devotional Vedanta. The purely philosophical and technical contribution of the school is a distinctive and phenomenal addition to the sum of the philosophical wisdom of India.

V

Dr. Sastry discredits, like many other historians, some of the details associated by tradition with the movements and stay of Ramanuja in Karnataka. But he does not deny the authenticity of the tradition that Ramanuja spent a glorious chapter of his life in Karnataka. He established several centres of *Vaishnava* devotion in the area, gathered significant following and made Srivaishnavism a permanent ingredient in Karnataka culture, not merely in the Brahminical circles but also in the religious consciousness of the people reaching down to the very bottom of the social hierarchy. His illustrious followers such as Parasara Bhatta, Vedanta Desika, Vara-vara-muni devoutly dwelt for sometime in the Karnataka centres of devotion and propagated their principles. In fact a pilgrimage to Melkote, which was classed as of the same rank as Sri Rangam, Tirumalai and Kanchi in sanctity, came to be looked upon as a necessary duty in the spiritual self-culture of a *Visishtadvaitin*. The third *guru* from Ramanuja, Nanjeeyar, was a saint from Mysore. The founder of the Ahobila-math was from Melkote. The monastic centre of Parakala-math has been an institution attached to the royal rulers of Mysore. Karnataka has contributed a number of celebrated writers in *Visishtadvaita*, the most recent of them being the late Sri Ranganath Brahma tantraswami of Parakala-math and *Panditaratnam* Lakshmipuram Srinivasachar. Vedanta Desika pays a glowing tribute to the *Srivaishnavas* of Karnataka (*Samkalpa Suryodaya*,—6th act).

VI

One of the greatest centres of *Advaita* in India is undoubtedly Sringeri, and Sri Sankara himself is said to have founded the monastic institution there. At least two of the greatest writers in *Advaita*, Sri Suresvara and Sri Vidyaranya are associated with this hoary institution. Many distinguished monks have adorned the pontific seat at Sringeri and it commands the devotion of the entire Sankarite population in the country. It cuts across the cults of Siva, Vishnu and Devi, as all the three constitute the central deities of worship in the Math. Great patronage to learning has marked the institution down the centuries. To this day Sringeri has maintained its traditions of scholarship, saintly purity and educational activity.

VII

In the sphere of philosophy in the Universities, it is worth while mentioning three outstanding modern writers in Vedanta in English. Sri K. A. Krishnaswamy Iyer, who rendered distinguished service in the field of higher education, wrote an impressive book in delightful English under the title "Vedanta, The Science of Reality." The work has had marked success and combines remarkably traditionalism and free thought. In this work he presented *Advaita* more or less on the rationalistic pattern of *Gaudapada Karika* and freely used for critical and constructive purposes western literature and philosophy. Sri V. Subramanya Iyer, who was Registrar of the University of Mysore, developed a passion for *Advaita* and wrote extensively in philosophical journals. The then Maharaja of Mysore, Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar, became his admiring pupil and learnt the Vedanta of *Ashtavakra Samhita* and *Gaudapada Karika*. Sri Subramanya Iyer, had a scientific cast of mind and excluded from Sankara's metaphysics all that was merely dogmatic, theological or mystical. He was a champion of pure philosophy combined with the latest wisdom of science. His presentation of *Advaita* focussed itself on the analysis of *Avastha-traya* and non-causality and deduced the humanitarian implications of *Advaita*. He was in charge of a study circle at the Sri Ramakrishasrama at Mysore for nearly decades at which the younger swamis of the order were trained in Vedanta and comparative philosophy. The Ashram at Mysore was singularly effective in many ways. It fostered the poetic genius of Sri K. V. Puttappa who has been worthily awarded the highest distinction for literature in the country. Many of the trainees at the study circle migrated to several important centres of the Ramakrishna order and have rendered outstanding service to Vedanta. One may mention Swami Nikhilananda, the translator of the complete gospel of Sri Ramakrishna, Swami Siddheswarananda, the founder of the Paris centre of the Ramakrishna order, Swami Iswarananda, Swami

Tapasyananda and Swami Ranganathanadna the orator of the order. The Ashram bore its fruits in the life of Sri Subramanya Iyer also. In his mature last years he came under the full force of Sri Ramakrishna and his study contained many a relic of Dakshineswar. The present writer had occasion to see a leaf of the Panchavati adorning his wall as an object of worship. The Ashram at Mysore has produced high ranking sastraic literature in Kannada and is furthering the cause of Vedanta. To the younger students of philosophy it was an interesting spectacle in those days. Dr. Radhakrishnan was thundering across the continents the supremacy of Vedantic Intuitionism, while Sri Subramanya Iyer, with a quiet and incisive analysis and sheer power of logic, was presenting the intellectual core of *Advaita* to the aspiring Swamis, who in later years became the pillars of practical Vedanta throughout the world.

The third personality that emerged at the time in Mysore in the field of Vedanta was Prof. M. Hiriyanna. He is, we may say, Mysore's gift to Indian Philosophy, which gift has happily passed beyond national boundaries in its usefulness. Prof. M. Hiriyanna was an unassuming devotee of higher learning and practised the craft of conscientious study and comprehension. What he wrote, he wrote with utmost authority, clarity and insight. His two works on the history of Indian Philosophy are definitive accounts of Indian Philosophical systems. His writings on Indian Aesthetics were of the character of pioneering works but they embody judgements of classic finality. Epistemology of all schools received his close study and was brought out in illuminating expositions. Ethics, theory of values and man's 'quest after perfection' were his abiding concern and they constitute the matter of his latter day addresses and writings. As a sympathetic and yet an honest critic of works, old and new, he set up standards rarely equalled. His masterly editions of *Ishta-siddhi*, *Naishkarmya-siddhi* and *Vedanta-sara*—the last with a translation—are models of critical scholarship. All these carry weighty introductions and notes. It may be of interest to the readers of this volume to know that the present writer happened to see with Prof. M. Hiriyanna, Dr. Srikantha Sastry's manuscript of his studies on *Ishta-siddhi*. Prof. M. Hiriyanna enjoyed the status of absolute authority in the field of his specialization and scholars in Indian Philosophy, both Indian and non-Indian, resorted to him as the ultimate court of appeal. Swami Madhavananda consulted him in the preparation of his monumental translation of Sankara's commentary on the *Brihadaranyaka*. Thus we see that Karnataka has made substantial, nay, epoch-making contributions to Vedantic learning in recent years.

VIII

In the interpretation of *Advaita* two new trends have arisen in Karnataka. They are both bold and far-reaching and thus require special mention. I am referring to the works of His Holiness Satchidanandendra Saraswati of Holenarasipur and Sri Vedantam Subbiah Sastry of Bangalore. It is worth noting their unique points of view.

The Swamiji has been working with stupendous energy for nearly fifty years in polemical and expositary writings in the cause of the philosophy of Sankara. He has come to the conclusion that Gaudapada, Sankara and Survesvara stand by themselves as representatives of pure *Advaita* while every other later commentator and exponent has grievously erred in his understanding and statement of *Advaita* on one particular issue of paramount importance. This distortion starts, it is said, with *Panchapadika* ascribed (wrongly according to the Swamiji) to Padmapada, a direct disciple of Sankara.

Excluding the minor and incidental points under debate, we may note the central issue. It is a cardinal doctrine of *Advaita* that Reality is one, undivided and timeless, of the nature of consciousness, transcending the triadic mundane experience involving the subject, object and the process of knowing. But this Reality is missed and distorted in our empirical knowledge which posits matter, plurality and temporal process. So there is this framework of misconstruction which is *Avidya* and *bandha*, universal error and human bondage. Vedantic enlightenment is for purposes of erasing this error and its consequence, evil. So much is common material.

But in the account of the mechanism of *Avidya*, a difficulty crops up. *Panchapadika* and its commentators find difficulty in explaining this cosmic misrepresentation. They note that distortion of truth presupposes considerable non-apprehension of the real. So much is conceded even by Gaudapada. But a non-apprehension of the absolute spirit, which is of the nature of irrepressible self-revelation, is inexplicable except by positing a factor that effects the concealment of the real. This factor that conceals the real and thereby causes the non-apprehension and misapprehension of the real is termed the root-error, or *Moola-Avidya*. *Panchapadika* and subsequent Advaitins like Prakasatman work out elaborately this concept of *Moola-Avidya*. Swami Satchidanandendra Saraswati, legitimately feels that this destroys the absolute monism of Sankara and that there is no authority for positing this radical element as making for all the empirical error, in the writings of Sankara and Suresvara. He hotly counters what he regards as the weakening innovation of the later Advaitins. But the traditionalists who assert the fidelity of the commentators contest this position

arguing that the postulate of *Moola-Avidya* really renders the position of Sankara consistent and intelligible and that it is actually propounded by Sankara and Suresvara. Thus, the position becomes a difficult exegetical warfare. Naturally there is intensified study of the works of Sankara and the Swami himself has to his credit prolific production of books in English, Sanskrit and Kannada. The issue has ceased to be merely a controversy in Karnataka and it has drawn into the field of combat eminent Advaitins beyond the Kannada world.

Sri Vedantam Subbiah Sastry has been a venerable and energetic teacher of *Advaita* for nearly four decades. Recently a revelation has dawned on him. He swears by the undisputed works of Sankara. He finds in Sankara no authority for regarding Brahman as a cosmic and as devoid of the attributes of omniscience and omnipotence. Brahman is truly the cosmic absolute. The empirical world is no illusion, no creation of mere error. It is a genuine expression of the absolute spirit. So Brahman is not *Nirguna* and the world is not mithya. The only traditional Advaitic proposition admitted is that the individual self, the *Jiva*, is ultimately one with the infinite self, Brahman. The world process is an eternal actuality. Man's realization of his inherent divinity does not sublate the world or rob divinity of its perfections but only transfigures him into his rightful ontological status through a correction of perspective. This is also a startling re-interpretation and Sri Sastry is also hard on the later commentators of Sankara. He has marshalled a mighty volume of evidence from Sankara and puts forth his view in rapidly lenghthening series of books in Kannada, English and Sanskrit. His gravity of concern is immense and he is an indefatigable controversialist.

I can only put on record these lively movements with the inspiring slogan 'Back to Sankara' and express delight at the continued vitality of *Advaita* on the Karnataka soil.

37

A Forgotten Deity

K. G. KRISHNAN

IN the course of the chequered history of Hinduism a large pantheon of gods and goddesses has been evolved giving rise to various cults. Right from the times of the Vedas down to the modern times new concepts have given rise to new forms of the same god or goddess according to the mythological background as recorded in the various Puranas. The popularity of the deity varied with the spirit of the times and ultimately the deity itself came to be forgotten or merged in another concept. We propose to illustrate this phenomenon here with reference to a particular deity on the basis of our examination of records from Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.

A story has been recorded in *Padmapurana* regarding the appearance of a goddess called Jyeshtha from the ocean of milk when it was churned for the divine nectar. She is stated to have preceded the goddess Lakshmi and hence tradítition in Tamil Nadu has retained the appellation of Mudevi i.e., *mutta devi* also called *akka* (elder sister) following the meaning of the word Jyeshtha, the senior goddess, for this deity though this word is actually used with a tinge of contempt in respect of women of despicable character. It is difficult to say, however, how far back the sense of contempt was imported into this word since we have no record of popular usages of early times. On the contrary the worship of this deity appears to have been very popular at least from the 7th century if not earlier. The earliest recorded evidence[1] is obtained in a bilingual inscription preserved in the cave temple at Tirupparangunram in Madurai. The Sanskrit section of the record in Grantha characters is engraved on the lintel of the Durga shrine and the Tamil section in Vatteluttu characters is engraved on a pillar in front of the cave. Both the sections record the excavation of the cave temple for the deity Siva in the Kali year 3874 in the 6th year of the reign of the Pandya king Maran Sadaiyan by his general Sattan Ganapati and also the excavation of the shrine for Durga and for Jyeshtha by the general's wife Nakkan Korri. The Kali year 3874 corresponds to 773–74 A.D. This points to the identity of the king Maran Sadaiyan with Varaguna

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 114 ff. and plate.

Parantaka I who ascended the throne in 767–68 A.D. Thus the erection of a shrine for Jyeshtha by a highly placed woman in those days indicates the popularity of this deity. This is also corroborated by a nearly contemporary reference in Tamil Literature. The tenth hymn in *Tirumalai* in praise of Vishnu, included in the anthology called *Nalayira-divya-prabandham*, sung by an *alvar* called Tondar-adip-podi contains a reference to Chettai, the goddess to whom people look for wealth lying in her cap. This indicates that in addition to the well-known practice of worshipping the goddess Lakshmi for prosperity Jyeshtha also was being worshipped for obtaining wealth. It is apparent that Jyeshtha who is supposed, according to the Padmapurana, to be residing at undesirable places associated with poverty and other allied ills could bestow prosperity in a negative way i.e., by being absent, thus creating conditions necessary for prosperity on account of the presence of the other goddess i.e., Lakshmi. The shrine for Jyeshtha mentioned in the Tirupparangunram inscription can be seen in the lower storey in the present cave temple in the form of a panel in a niche on the back wall of the monolithic cave. Nowadays this is completely hidden from view and it is accessible only through an artificial closed passage parallel to the left stair-case leading to the cave temple. Though the passage could be an accretion of later days, the location of the deity is interesting inasmuch as it appears to be a secluded spot. This is in consonance with the stipulation laid down in *Bodhayana-grihya-sutra*[2] that Jyeshtha may be installed in a temple or in a secret spot. Here it is both.

The panel of Jyeshtha consists of three deities. The main deity is represented with 'hanging lips, stunted nose, pendant breasts, and a big-belly'. She has two hands one resting on the left thigh and the other holding a lotus. She is accompanied by her bull-faced son to her right holding a club in his right hand and by her daughter to her left whose arms are shown in the same way as her mother's. There is a crow perching on an ornamental stand to her right apparently standing for her banner. There is another similar stand to her left, the object on which is not clear.[3] Another panel reported to have been found at Mylapore[4] is almost identical with the other at Tiruvellavayil except in the following respects: Jyeshtha's right

[2] University of Mysore Edition, p. 294. It is interesting to note that in the *namavali* for Jyeshtha given therein the names Sri, Kapilapatni, Kumbhi, Vighnaparshada, etc., occur.

[3] Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, Photograph on p. 217. The image described here is from Tiruvellavayil now preserved in the Madras Museum.

[4] Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Pt. II, Plate facing q. 391.

hand is in *abhaya* pose. Her son's left hand points to her, while in the other it rests on his left thigh. Yet another panel in the Madras Museum is identical except that there is no crow banner and the goddess's left hand rests on the right thigh of her daughter.[5]

In spite of the *alvar's* tirade against this deity the worship continued in the Tamil country. Shrines dedicated to her are referred to in the inscriptions of Rajaraja I. They are stated to have been located in Anbanur in Pachchil-kurram (Tiruchchirappalli District).[6] We have also come across images of this deity in many other places in the same district still being worshipped under different local names by people who have totally forgotten that they are worshipping Jyeshtha i.e., Mudevi! While thus the odium attached to this deity in popular conception continues even today, the sculpture is not thrown out but is metamorphosised and absorbed into the village pantheon. What is the source of this metamorphosis without affecting its form? We do not get the answer for this question in the material collected so far in Tamil Nadu. We turn to Karnataka for the answer.

There is a temple for a deity now called Mahamaya at Kukkanur in Yalburgi Taluk, Raichur District, Mysore State. There is an inscription on a slab in this temple dated Saka 1100 (1178 A.D.) in the reign of Kalachuri Sankamadeva. Kuntala country is stated in the inscription to have surpassed all other countries on account of the presence of the deities Kalika, Jyeshtha and Kapalisa in that country. It is to be noted that Kalika and Jyeshtha are mentioned here separately. But the inscription continues to describe the country with particular reference to Belvala and Kukkanura. It refers to several female divinities including Kali, Ambika etc., worshipped at Kukkanuru. This is followed by a description of Jyeshtha in the same place who is stated to be the supreme goddess as her name implies. From this context the inscription proceeds to describe the greatness of Jyeshtha often referring to her also as Kalika. Jyeshtha is stated to be accompanied by Pralayamba and Bhairava in one verse (No. 16). Kalika is stated to have been seated on a pedestal with Pralayamba and Kapalisa to her left. The identification of Jyeshtha with Kalika is made complete here. Incidentally it may be observed that the son and the daughter accompanying Jyeshtha in the panels of Tamilnadu described above appear to be named here for the first time, though after the process of metamorphosis. We find that Jyeshtha had ere long been accepted as a manifestation of the supreme female divinity thus elevating the deity from the negative aspect arising out of the story of her appearance as recorded in the *Padma-*

[5] Gopinath Rao, *op. cit.*, plate facing p. 394.

[6] *SII.*, II, p. 54, line 4; p. 58, line 7.

purana. The reference to the Kalamukha ascetic Kalesvara, the royal preceptor, in the inscription as the donee accepting the gift recorded in it on behalf of the deity suggests the agency through which this change appears to have been effected.

[7] P. B. Desai, *A Corpus of Inscriptions in the Kannada Districts of Hyderabad State*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 18, Inscription No. 13.

38

Basavesvara: The Revolutionary Saint of Karnataka

H. TIPPERUDRASWAMY

BASAVESVARA strikes us as a sublime figure standing astride the mighty stream of the social and spiritual life of India in general and of Karnataka in particular. In fact, Karnataka can rightly feel proud of having produced early in 12th century, a revolutionary saint like Basavesvara or Basavanna as he is popularly known. He was one of the rare individuals who, from time to time, tried to lift humanity out of the common rut of life.

Basavesvara's versatile genius and a towering personality have expressed themselves in myriad ways. Besides being a prophet and a saint, he was an eminent poet, social reformer, and religious leader of the highest order. In him both head and heart, knowledge and devotion, action and meditation, rationalism and mysticism combined in perfect balance. He was one of those very few who piously received the mandate to be the instrument of Divine Will.

The comprehensive nature of his teaching, its rationality and universality are bound to appeal to every one irrespective of nationality and religion. He rose above caste and sex, the hierarchy and the sacerdotal order of his days, and democratised religion by declaring all human beings as equals. So his message, properly understood, is relevant even to this day.

Human knowledge today has become unmanageably vast. The gap between life and knowledge grows wider and wider. Facts replace learning, and knowledge, split into a thousand isolated fragments, no longer generates wisdom. Modern civilization is precariously based upon technical knowledge that has become the monopoly of an esoteric class. Scientific inventions have provided, on the one hand, material comforts, but on the other hand they have created an age of tension and perpetual danger. At every stage we are becoming aware of our insufficiencies. We are forced to find ourselves in utter darkness, as it were, in the midst of unprecedented light of learning. We have put on blinders in order to shut out from our vision all the light except on one little spot. We have to remove them and see the world in all its splendour. What is required is the humanization of modern knowledge by breaking down the barriers between knowledge and need. We are in desparate

need of that light which religious leaders and saints alone can give.

The great saints of the world have given us the message by which we can seize the value and perspective of passing things and also by which we can pull ourselves out of the malestrom of daily circumstances. They saw life in its entirety with a whole and transcendental vision without subscribing to the conventions and rituals established in the name of religion. The Seers of the Upanishads, Buddha, Jesus, Zoraster and others who had to undergo in their lives an inevitable breakaway from conventional views, may be cited here. Basavanna stands prominently among them combining in him both a saint and an ardent social reformer.

By the middle of the twelfth century when Basavanna appeared on the scene, the Hindu society was at its low ebb. Blind beliefs, meaningless rituals and superstitions had clung to the society like a parasitical plant in Karnataka as well as in the rest of India. The cult of sacrifice was widely practised. Society, in the name of religion which had become rigid and dogmatic, was divided into water-tight compartments. Common people, who were being exploited by religious hierarchy, were looking for and anxiously awaiting the arrival of a Divine Soul who could breakdown the barriers and distribute the fruits of universal religion. It was in the hour of such a crucial need that Basavanna appeared as a luminary in the midst of darkness.

Basavesvara accepted the ancient *Virasaiva* religion, but he rejuvinated, revitalised, and remoulded it to suit his purpose. He made it a powerful means by which he could uplift the common man. It became an instrument, in his hands, to eradicate curruption that had set in. In consequence Karnataka witnessed a social and religious renaissance which, in many respects, may be considered as unique.

Basava, unlike other religious teachers or acharyas of India, did not rely upon Sanskrit language for religious awakening. He carried his message to every hearth and home through the language of the people i.e. Kannada. After the Buddha it was only Basava who made use of the language of the common man as a vehicle of divine knowledge and a powerful medium of social reconstruction and revolution.

He wrote prose lyrics called *vachanas* in simple but powerful Kannada which took shape as an inevitable medium of his religious experience and of intense desire for social upliftment. Under his leadership hundreds of *Saranas* or spiritual aspirants rallied together. The knowledge that emerged as a result of their free thinking and lofty discussions on social and religious problems and the *vachana* literature that has reflected it, form an invaluable part of the history of Karnataka.

The purpose of this article is very limited. I don't pretend to

probe into the depths of Basaveswara's wondrous life, his profound and manysided wisdom and achievements. I humbly accept that these few pages are an attempt in giving only a bird's-eye view of his Himalayan heights. It is by no means exhaustive; it can only be indicative and suggestive. It does not even pretend to be exhaustive.

Basavesvara was born around the year 1131 A.D., at Ingalesvara-Bagevadi now in Bijapur district of Karnataka. His father Madiraja or Madarasa was the chief of Bagevadi, his mother Madalambe was a pious woman and a great devotee of Nandisvara, the principal deity of Bagevadi. He had an elder brother called Devaraja; and an elder sister Nagamma. She played an important role in shaping his future and in participating in religious and social activities which he undertook later.

Basavanna, born in a traditional Hindu family, had occasions to observe the rituals that were being performed meticulously by orthodoxy. He soon realised even as a boy the futility of rituals and sacrifices. He rebelled against them; he even refused to go through the thread ceremony which was arranged to be performed at the age of eight. But Brahmin hierarchy could not tolerate this. Consequently, Basava had to leave Bagevadi to Kudala Sangama severing all his relations with his family except Nagamma, his elder sister who followed him both as a guardian and as a disciple.

Kudala Sangama, a place situated at the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Malaprabha, was one of the great centres of learning in those days. Isanya guru, probably of *Kalamukha* school of Saiva faith which prefers *Lingadharana* i.e. wearing of *lingam* on the body, to vedic sacrifices and rituals, was the head of Sangamesvara Math and also of the educational institution attached to it. Under his able guidance Basava spent some years of rigorous study and of spiritual practice. This period of his life was extremely significant for it was here that his future plans and paths were shaped.

There came a turning point in his life when Baladeva, his maternal uncle and minister under Bijjala of Kalachurya dynasty, offered his daughter in marriage to Basavanna. Basava, having lofty ideal of spiritual pursuit before him, was not quite prepared to accept the offer. But Eshanya guru convinced him that he should plunge into the world with his message of salvation for mankind.

So Basava left Kudala Sangama for Mangalavada the capital of Tardavadi of which Bijjala was the ruler. After his marriage he stayed there for a couple of years and rose to power and prominence by dint of his ability. He was found to be the most appropriate choice to occupy the position of *Bhandari*, the Minister of Finance, after the death of Baladeva who was holding that post.

By that time political situation in Karnataka was getting changed.

Chalukyas of Kalyana were becoming weaker ever since Tailapa III became the emperor. Bijjala who was only a feudatory to Chalukyan empire took advantage of the situation and usurped the Chalukya throne and became the emperor of Kalyana. He persuaded Basava to go over to Kalyana with him and to accept tne ministership of the empire.

Basavanna was not interested in the political upheaval; nor was he inclined to acquire greater power. But he accepted to go to Kalyana and to take charge as *Bhandari* only because it would provide him with ample opportunity to pursue his mission effectively.

He went to Kalyana probably in the year 1154, and he was there upto 1167 when Bijjala's rule came to an end according to inscriptional evidences. During the short span of twelve or thirteen years of his stay at Kalyana, Basava's accomplishments are singular and remarkable. He worked with burning zeal to realise what he had conceived at Kudala Sangama. Gates of Dharma were thrown open to all without any barriers of caste, creed or sex. His religious and social movement were unique in many respects, attracted spiritual aspirants and great saints like Allama Prabhu. Dharma became a living force in the vital cause of mass awakening. At no time in the religious history, had Dharma acquired so brilliant a splendour and miraculous power. It is said that Basava performed a good number of miracles; but the greatest is this, that he raised the common men and even untouchables who were thrown out of society, to the divine heights of spiritual attainments.

His magnetic personality which emerged from his rare *bhakti* and compassion and love for humanity, was able to attain this miraculous power. He was a great *bhakta*. Besides being *Bhandari* under Bijjala he was also "*Bhakti-Bhandari*"—The Lord of the treasure house of devotion. His *bhakti* was of a very high order. It acquired a broad meaning integrating all the paths of renunciation, knowledge, meditation and action.

All the *Saranas* of his time were aware of the perfection of his bhakti. "Basava is the rich harvest of devotion" says Channabasavanna. "Basava is *bhakti* incarnate, eternity incarnate and joy incornate" declares Siddarama. Madivala Machayya puts it symbolically :

"Whichever way you look,
Behold the creeper Basavanna !
You pick it up and lo,
A cluster, the *Linga*!
Pick up the cluster lo!
The juice that brims up in it"

You squeeze any of the *vachanas* of Basavanna, the juice of *bhakti* brims over.

How true is the statement! The note of *bhakti* pulsates through the *vachanas* of Basava. All the stages of *bhakti*, from troubled anguish of the heart to the serene tranquillity of divine experience, are revealed in them powerfully and spontaneously. They may be said to serve as the living manual of the path of devotion.

In Basavanna's *bhakti*, there is an emotional exuberance, a philosophical insight and a moving compassion. His devotion is not sentimental outburst, nor a bundle of dry and cold philosophical speculations. It is vigorous and vivacious by the lively touch of the vast mystic experience. It runs like a full flooded river but with great restraint and dignity, having matured and purified the emotions in the light of the sparkling intellect. As the river joins the sea to become sea itself; so his *bhakti* unites with Lord of Kudala Sangama. He describes this as a state of ultimate silence. The very speech becomes silence there; the silence that transcends speech is its true description. Nonetheless he has attempted to express in words the sublimity of that state.

To quote only two *vachanas* (translated):

"My tongue is filled with the nectar of Thy name,
My eyes are filled with Thy image,
My mind is filled with thoughts of Thee,
My ears are filled with Thy fame,
My Lord Kudala Sangama
I am a bee at your lotus feet
Fused in Thyself."

"Look at the being that remains
When all the murky darkness is dispelled!
While light on light has been enthroned,
Lord Kudala Sangama alone knows
The union that ensues
When light is wedded Unto light."

Light becomes a throne to light, light mingles with light. As Allama Prabhu puts it, that which remains in the end is nothing but Light. Basavanna attained this highest state that any spiritual aspirant can accomplish.

How did he attain it? Not by renouncing the world, nor by following the path of asceticism. He never turned his back upon the normal necessities of life. Buddha renounced the world in his quest after perfection; but Basava accepted the world and attained perfection. He held a high position in the political set up of the country. He led a happy family life; and he never stood out of society. Asceticism, according to him, did not mean rejection of life. He did not subscribe to the view that woman, money and land were the lures of *Maya*. He says in one of his *vachanas*:

"Bridling your senses, all you do
Is startling maladies:
For the five senses came and stand
And laugh into your face!
Did Siriyala and Changala
Give up their mights of love
As wedded man and wife?
Did Sindhu Ballala give up
His amorous pleasures and his dalliance?
Before Thee I avow:
Should I but covet another's wealth or wife,
Let me be banished from Thy feet,
Oh Kudala Sangama Lord".

One should enjoy the delight of the senses through legitimate ways. There is nothing wrong in it. But at the same time one must make the senses realise that there are limits to the joy. The restraint on the senses should be automatic and effortless. Artificial coercion of the senses, and torturing of body and mind are of no use.

One has to realise the insufficiencies of worldly pleasure. But one need not be disappointed. It is possible in this human life, and only in this life itself, to search for an abiding core of truth. Therefore, this mortal life is holy and worthwhile. Thus Basava creates interest in life. The following *Vachana* by him is memorable :

"This mortal world is but the Maker's mint;
Those who earn merit here, earn also there,
And those who earn not here, earn neither there,
Oh! Kudala Sangama Lord."

Those who cannot live well here, what can they attain hereafter. To live like a walking corpse with despair and disgust is not the spiritual way of life, nor can it be considered as true asceticism or *sanyasa*. One must live here and live well and at the same time attain the life of the spirit which is beyond the boundaries of the mortal life.

The life here gets significance when it ceases to be a hurdle in the pursuit of eternal life. One should have the resoluteness of a warrior to ride the mad horse of *Samsara* or worldliness. Instead of being a slave to the horse, one must be its master. Basavanna laid down ethical and spiritual principles by which one could get complete mastery over the horse of *Samsara*.

He did not believe in tall talk and hair splitting speculation. He did not talk anything which he could not put into practice. In him, practice preceded preaching. He saw in Hindu religion, which had given Upanishads where essential oneness of all humanity was enunciated, hundreds of castes and creeds apart from the fourfold division, each claiming superiority over the other. Again there existed the

horrible practice of untouchability which, according to Basava, was a disgrace to humanity. He vehemently deprecated the whole system and protested against the selfish practices and exploitations that were prevalent under the guise of *Chaturvarna* or fourfold division. He rationally illumined the true nature of religion. The following *vachana* is a perfect illustration of his rationality:

"A *pariah* is the man who slays,
A *Pariah*, if he eats the carrion;
Where is the caste here—Where?
Our Kudala Sanga's *Sarana*
Who loves all living things,
He is the well-born one".

He declared that man's worth should be judged not by his birth but by his thoughts and deeds, by his conduct and character.

He was disgusted to see hundreds of sub-castes and wrangles among them. He considered only two classes in human species; *Bhakta* and *bhavi*, i.e. good and bad by nature. He stressed his stand on the score of examples of sages and seers that caste could not be the criterion for the worth of a man:

"Sankhya was a Sweeper;
Agastya, a huntsman;
Durvasa, a cobbler;
Dadhichi, a locksmith;
Kasyapa, a blacksmith;
Kaundilya, a barber;
So, why should you, then,
In ignorance of this,
Insist on caste?"

This he condemned the caste-system and raised his voice of protest stoutly against the fourfold division of Hindu Society.

He did not accept or uphold caste discriminations in social relations like taking food, arranging marriages and in all other affairs of daily life. This, he considered, was artificial division and it created wide gulf between man and man.

"They say they break their vows;
In eating and in wearing clothes:
They look for caste
Whenever they arrange a match.
How can you call them devotees?
How can you call them adepts too?
Hearken to me, Kudala Sangama Lord,
It's like a low born wife
Bathing in water that is pure",

This was revolutionary indeed ! Especially eight hundred years ago its reaction upon the caste-ridden society can well be imagined ! Had Basava proclaimed it and kept quiet may be the reactionary forces would have ignored it. But he put into practice what he said. The very untouchables whom the high-born had kept at a distance and a look at whom had to be followed by a purifactory bath, Basavanna enlisted in the *Anubhava Mantapa* i.e. Socio-religious academy, set up by him. He gave them equal status both in religion and society. He says:

> "Shall I call Siriyala a man of trade,
> And Machayya a Washerman ?
> Call Kakkayya a tanner, and
> And if I call myself
> A brahmin, will not
> Kudala Sangama just laugh at me ?"

This proclaims perfect religious equality to all who deserved it not by virtue of their birth but by worth.

Consequent upon this he had to face terrible opposition from reactionary forces. He took it as a challenge, and went even to the extreme limit of bringing about matrimonial relationship between the son of Haralayya, a cobbler, and the daughter of Madhuvarasa, a brahmin. The reactionaries, then, got the upper hand. They raised a hue and cry against him and complained to king Bijjala that this intercaste marriage was a confusion of castes i.e. *varna-sankara* and hence a sacrilege. The king, the supposed custodian of *varna-dharma*, passed a severe sentence that Haralayya and Madhuvarasa should be put to death. The entire city of Kalyana was shaken by this sudden turn of events.

At this valiant venture of Basavanna the traditionalists even of our own day, may shiver. Nevertheless, we of the Gandhian age, are now in a position to appreciate such bold innovations. But the society of his day could not stand it. Basavanna may be said to have been eight hundred years ahead of his times. This revolutionary act for the removal of untouchability and abolition of caste forms an unforgettable page in the religious and social history of India.

Another significant contribution of Basavanna is that of *Kayaka*. The term "*Kayaka*" or divinity of labour, is his contribution to the world of thought and action. Basava breathed into it both thought and action, for he himself was a man of thought as well as a man of action.

It came as a great revolution in society and brought about spiritual and social awakening in the mind of the people. Primarily *Kayaka* changed the social attitude of deciding the worth of men by

their professions. Basava proclaimed that there was nothing like high or -low in occupations; it was honesty and sincerity that decided the merit of the means of livelihood. This is the key-note of *Kayaka*.

Kayaka does not mean merely an occupation for subsistence. It is the work with absolute detachment and it should fulfil the needs of the society. The earnings of the individual should promote not only his material and spiritual progress, but it should also be utilized for the welfare of the society in the form of triple "*dasoha*" or dedication to *Guru*, *Linga* and *Jangama*. It is only then that profession becomes *Kayaka;* and such *Kayaka* itself is *Kailasa* or Divine pleasure. I do not propose to discuss the deep and subtle implications of *Kayaka* as propounded and lived according to its dictates by Basava and his followers. It requires a special study to bring out atleast the main features of this peerless, powerful and revolutionary conception.

Another factor of equal importance achieved by Basavanna was the emancipation of women. The age of Maitreyi and Gargi had gone long ago. Women and sudras had no right of access to the Vedas or any other scripture. Under such odd circumstances, Basava boldly declared that there was no distinction between man and woman and provided equal opportunities, to women in society and in religion. Hence we come across several women saints like Akkamahadevi, Akkanagamma, Neelambike,Gangambike,Lakkamma, Lingamma, Mahadevamma and others with unparalleled spiritual attainments to their credit.

As already seen, Basava stoutly protested against the ritual part of the Vedas but gave great importance to the truth revealed in Upanishads. He condemned polytheism or worship of several gods like Mari, Masani, Durgi, etc. with a trivial material motive behind it. He upheld *bhakti*, but not blind belief and superstitions in the name of *bhakti*. Apart from *Karma* theory, hundreds of blind beliefs were firmly rooted—astrology, omens, stars, observance of days, weeks and so on. Basava ridiculed them and held in high reverance the supreme devotion with a singular faith in one Supreme power. Thus at every stage, be it spiritual or social, economical or intellectual, he was a rationalist and a revolutionary to the core.

In the religious and social history of India, Basavanna stands as lofty humanity radiating divine light. Though he is confined to Karnataka in so far as he worked in this part of the country and wrote in the language of the people, truly he was a universal saint giving his message to the whole of the universe. His personality and supreme genius, expressed in various activities of life, attract modern scientific mind too, because he was a free thinker and a modern man though lived eight hundred years ago.

39

Basavesvara and His Contributions

K. R. BASAVARAJA

His Life

DURING the rule of Vikramaditya VI, the Kalyana Chalukya king, Basavesvara was born about 1105 A.D.,[1] in a Brahmin family at Bagewadi, a provincial town of the empire. His parents were Madiraja and Madalamba. Madiraja belonged to the *Kamme Kula*. As *Saivism* was a popular and predominant faith in and around Bagewadi, the name Basava was fairly common among its followers in that area. Bagewadi was an *agrahara* town of renown. It was governed by an assembly of five hundred *Mahajanas*. Madiraja, the father of Basavesvara, was the president of that assembly (*puravaradhisvara*).[2] At home, around and farther in the region, traditions and conventions devoid of their spirit reigned supreme. Vedic sacrifices were performed and animals were immolated.[3] Temples of various gods flourished there. The social groups and classes were divided and a wide gulf separated the high-born from the low-born. Today Bagewadi is the headquarters of a *taluka* in the Bijapur district of the Mysore State.

Basavesvara had his schooling at an early age. The lessons and courses taught included more of sacred lore like the *Vedas*, *Agamas*, Epics, *Puranas* and a few other disciplines such as lexicography, grammar and logic. While undergoing training, rites and rituals had to be performed by the students. Young Basavesvara was placed in such an environment. His sensitive mind reacted sharply to the conditions prevailing in the *agrahara*.[4]

At the age of eight Basavesvara's *upanayana* (initiation ceremony) was performed. This event was a turning point in his life. The Brahmanic religion, its teachings and observances aroused the

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[1] This date is suggested by Dr. P. B. Desai in his work *Basavesvara and His Times* (Dharwar, 1969), p. 168. See also *Sri Basavesvara*—A commemoration Volume (Bangalore, 1967), pp. 11-12.

[2] Bhimakavi, *Basavapurana*, ed., Prof. I. S. Pavate and others (Dharwar, 1969), II, Verses 45-48. See also Harihara, *Basavarajadevara Ragale*, ed., T. S. Venkannayya (Mysore, 1938), lines 94-100; *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 9-31.

[3] Brahmasiva, *Samaya Parikshe*, XIV, 124.

[4] *Basavesvara*, p. 170.

latent spirit of inquiry and revolutionary thoughts in his mind. He spent a few years in this state of mind. When he attained his sixteenth year Basavesvara discarded the *yajnopavita* (the sacred thread) that marked his allegiance and affiliation to the Brahmanical order and thus broke away from the age-old religious traditions. Later, he left his home for Kudala Sangama, a stronghold of the *Saivas*.[5]

At Kudala Sangama, Basavesvara had the good fortune of securing Isanya Guru as his guide. This teacher was the chief of that township which was also an *agrahara*. Isanya Guru was a reputed scholar. As the name suggests he appears to have been a follower of the *Pasupata* doctrine. At Sangama, Basavesvara concentrated his attention on Sangamesvara, the supreme God who was all in all to him. Absorbed in meditation, he engaged himself constantly in the worship and service of this deity. As Basavesvara was endowed with uncommon intuition and genius he made rapid progress in his studies. At the same time he advanced in performing spiritual exercises and gaining mystic experiences. His study seems to have included a wide range of subjects like the Vedic texts, *Darsanas*, *Puranas*, *Agamas* and other sacred lore and philosophies. As seen through his *vachanas*, it appears that he mastered the *Saiva* literary works also.[6] It can be stated here with certainty that Basavesvara spent a pretty long period of about twelve years[7] at Kudala Sangama and prepared himself for realising his goal. His revolutionary mind began seeking channels to transform his ideas into realities. At the end of this preparatory stage Basavesvara appears to have come to two conclusions, viz., the need for spiritual attainment and the need for religious and social reforms.

Basavesvara had attained maturity and stood at the threshold of fulfilment. His stay at Sangama had completely transformed him. At this time Bijjala of the Kalachuri dynasty was attaining prominence in the political horizon. He had commenced his career as a *Mahamandalesvara* about 1130 A.D. He was wielding considerable power in the Chalukya empire by virtue of his family ties with the imperial house and his own abilities. His capital town was Mangalavada (modern Mangalavedha, near Pandharpur in Maharashtra State). This town was considered a fitting place for a youth to start his worldly career and Basavesvara, it may be surmised, was persuaded to go there.[8]

Basavesvara left Sangama for Mangalavada about 1132 A.D. There he entered into the Accounts Section of the Secretariat and

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5 *Basavarajadevara Ragale*, II, lines 1-10.

6 *Commemoration Volume*, pp. 18-19.

7 *Basavesvara*, p. 175.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 177-180.

soon gained confidence of Siddha-Dandadhipa, the treasury Officer. The latter entrusted him with more and more responsibilities including the management of his family affairs. When Siddha-Dandadhipa expired Basavesvara inherited his property in addition to his office. He was appointed the royal treasurer by Bijjala. After this Basavesvara married two virtuous maidens, Gangadevi and Mayidevi who belonged to respectable families.[9]

It was a key post which placed Basavesvara in an advantageous position not only over the nobles and officials of the kingdom but also in relation to Bijjala, who could execute his plans, ambitious as they were, with the support of the treasury managed by a competent officer. According to the practice of those days Basavesvara was addressed as *Dandanatha* and *Mantri*. But essentially he was a *Bhandari* (Treasurer). About 1141 A.D., he rose to the high post of the Chief of the Treasury. This rise of Basavesvara embittered the feelings of some nobles, officers and courtiers of Bijjala, who nurtured hatred and jealousy towards him. In spite of the open enmity pursued by some, including the king, Basavesvara distinguished himself by his honesty and efficiency in the discharge of his official duties.[10]

Basavesvara never slackened his efforts to achieve his goal in life. As fortune favoured him with position and wealth his devotion to God Kudala Sangamadeva became more and more intensive. He used his material wealth for feeding and sheltering the *Jangamas*, the itinerent devotees of Siva. The efforts of Basavesvara towards realising his mission took a definite shape by about 1141 A.D.[11] His fame for piety and munificence spread far and wide. Other counsellors of the king who did not like him and his activities attempted in vain to mar his fair name.

In the eyes of Basavesvara all the devotees of Siva were equal, irrespective of their differences on account of birth, sex, caste, wealth or position. Accordingly, he entertained high regard even for a low-born or the so-called untouchable and paid scant respect to a *brahmana* who was not a devotee and whose conduct was questionable. He mixed freely even with those devotees who were of low birth and dined with them. But the orthodox section of the *Saivas* to which Bijjala belonged viewed this conduct of Basavesvara with alarm and never favoured such a course, which ultimately strained the relations between Basavesvara and Bijjala. As days passed by, the gulf between the two widened. Basavesvara went on preaching and practising his new faith called *Virasaivism*. His reformist teachings appealed to the common folk who rallied

[9] *Basavarajadevara Ragale*, V, 100-500.
[10] *Basavesvara*, p. 181.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

round him. Bijjala and his courtiers and other members of the upper classes opposed this new religio-social movement and attempted to arrest its advance. But they failed.[12]

Between 1143 A.D. and 1153 A.D., Bijjala was growing in power in the political field and poised to strike a fatal blow to the Chalukya dynasty while Basavesvara was advancing in his spiritual devotion and zealously preaching his doctrine. Basavesvara was a philosopher and a consummate organiser. Devotees from different places and regions came in large numbers to meet him and obtain elightenment from him. Meetings, assemblies, conferences and congregations were held frequently. Some of the meetings were of special nature where most distinguished thinkers participated and discussed intricate philosophical themes. Out of such activities emerged, about 1141 A.D., a spiritual organization known as *Anubhava Mantapa.*[13]

About 1153 A.D., Basavesvara left Mangalavada for Kalyana as a result of the conflict with the king Bijjala owing to political and religious differences. The political situation obtaining then necessitated the presence of Bijjala who was intimately connected with the Chalukya family. Political events rapidly culminated in the usurpation of the Chalukya throne by Bijjala and the establishment of his rule. The gulf that separated Bijjala and Basavesvara widened further during the actual reign period of the former i.e., 1162-1167 A.D. Bijjala was busy with the administration of his newly acquired kingdom while Basavesvara was zealously engaged in propagating his new faith which by this time had gained popular support in many quarters. This was the most glorious period in his life as it marked the culmination and fulfilment of his mission. Basavesvara preached faith in one god, Siva ; reverence to His true devotees, the *Jangamas* ; and equality of all men and women both in the religious and social fields. He practised in his daily life what he preached.[14]

Kalyana was now the centre of Basavesvara's movement. He was surrounded by the *Jangama* devotees. His teachings and activities appealed to the spiritual seekers in different parts of the country. They came to Kalyana for enlightenment. Seers of truth like Allama Prabhu, Akka Mahadevi and many others visited Kalyana and set their stamp of approbation on the spiritual activities going on there. The new movement of Basavesvara had come to stay. The number of his followers increased and his *Jangama* fraternity grew into a powerful force to be reckoned with not only in religious and social spheres but also in other spheres of life. Thus the vision that Basavesvara saw in the prime of his life at Kudala Sangama had been

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 182-186.

[13] *Singiraja Purana*, V. 48, 3-5.

[14] *Basavesvara*, pp. 187-194.

virtually realised within a span of about three decades. He had administered a staggering blow to the old order and ushered in a new religious order and code of conduct.[15]

Bijjala, who was watching with alarm the enormous growth of Basavesvara's movement and its popularity, became intolerant and restive. He decided to take repressive measures to arrest the growth of the *Virasaiva* movement. It was at this time that Haralayya, an untouchable, and Madhuvayya, a *brahmana* had brought about an intercaste marriage. These two persons were summoned by the king who, without any trial, got them executed. This atrocity of the monarch stunned the devotees of Basavesvara with horror and convulsed the entire *Jangama* fraternity at Kalyana. Some of them headed by Jagadeva pleaded for taking revenge upon the king. Others counselled peace and forbearance. Basavesvara did not favour the move to punish Bijjala for his sinful act. But his words of restraint were of no avail. Emotions rose high and the situation became explosive. Basavesvara, the leader, lost control of it. Notwithstanding his efforts to stem the tide of violence, the crisis did overtake the movement.

The only course then left open to the leader was to dissociate himself from the crisis. Basavesvara left Kalyana with a group of followers for Kudala Sangama. There Basavesvara, the ardent devotee of Sangama, merged with the deity, the Infinite. This event took place about the end of 1167 A.D.

There at Kalyana a conspiracy was hatched out by Jagadeva and his associates and Bijjala was murdered in his palace. Pandemonium ensued and Basavesvara's followers there were pursued by the Kalachuris and they left Kalyana and scattered themselves in different directions. One prominent section of the devotees under the leadership of Channabasavanna, the nephew of Basavesvara, reached Ulavi, situated in the tract of the modern Belgaum district. Some went to Srisaila in the modern Kurnool district (Andhra Pradesh). Others went to different places and regions. The *Virasaiva* movement, however, survived, and it received encouragement at the hands of the kings of Vijayanagara after a lapse of about two and half centuries.[16]

His Contributions :

Basavesvara stands out as one of the most outstanding personalities in the history of mankind. No religious teacher holding a high office in the government had at the same time taken to preaching and practising what he preached as Basavesvara did. He did not deliver hollow sermons from the pulpit. His chief contributions were in the

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 195.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

fields of religion, philosophy, mysticism, social life and language and literature.

Virasaivism is essentially a self-initiated and self-inspired original contribution of Basavesvara, a revolutionary personality, The follower of this faith is a sworn votary of Siva. Worship of *Ishta Linga* constitutes the kernel of *Virasaivism*. This new faith is a departure from the labyrinth of mechanical ritualism of the Vedic traditions in essentials. In this faith there is no place for the sacred fire and the sacrificial rituals. And social gradation such as *Brahmana, Sudra,* and the four fold *asrama* scheme of life are not accepted. The sacraments and rituals are reduced to the minimum, the most essential being only three, initiation, marriage and funeral. The soul, being pure, is free from physical pollutions. The goal of human life is the union of the individual soul with the Supreme. This can be achieved by the rules of *Ashtavarana*, the eight-fold covering or spiritual aid, which is the means for developing one's individuality; the *Panchachara* or the five-fold conduct which elevates the individual in his social environment; and *Shatsthala*, the six-fold stage which leads him on the path of spiritual progress and perfection. Among the *Ashtavarana*, the triad, the *Guru* (the spiritual guide), the *Linga* (the mystic emblem of the Supreme) and the *Jangama* (the itinerant minister of religion and morality) occupy a prominent place. Thus, this religion is free from the shortcomings like the rituals, superstitions and distinctions based on caste, creed and sex.[17]

Basavesvara ranks high among religious teachers who pursued *bhakti marga* (the path of devotion) in their daily life. The *vachanas* and the noble deeds of Basavesvara gave a mighty impetus to the *bhakti* movement and caused it to take deep roots in the soil and thus set an example to another school, *Haridasa*, devotees of Vishnu who came to the front at a much later date in the 16th century. The *Virasaiva* movement was free from orthodox fetters and influenced common people and gave them a direction. In this respect institutions like the *Anubhava Mantapa* founded by Basavesvara rendered immense service to the cause of *Virasaivism* by their idealism, literary works and social activities.[18]

Basavesvara was a great mystic of the 12th century. Practice of intense devotion led him to experience the mystic joy of seeing the vision of Lord Siva and of feeling one with Him. He dreaded the moment when he thought that Siva's vision was disappearing from his mind. "Do not run away", he exclaimed, addressing Sangama, "I do not ask Thee for any favour. Only I beg Thee to allow me have

[17] Nandimath, S. C., *A Handbook of Virasaivism* (Dharwar, 1942), pp. 1-13 and 112-123.

[18] *Basavesvara*, pp. 316-331.

a full view of Thee, Oh! Lord, and experience the joy resulting therefrom. Why can't you speak to me, my Lord. After all, Oh! Kudala Sangama, I am a puppet in your hands."[19] The gift of experiencing such a mystic delight could come only to a person who led a moral life. Basavesvara set an example by his own conduct and sincerely did he pray to god not to make him a man of wicked thoughts and bad conduct but a devotee of *Linga* and the admirer of *Jangamas*.[20]

The mystic way of life also depended upon the control of the mind and Basavesvara was no less insistent on the practise of this essential quality. "After all" said Basavesvara, "like an animal, man falls a prey to the grass of sense objects spread before him. God, therefore, in His infinite Grace, has to help him by removing objects of pleasure from him, by feeding him with the 'juice of devotion' and by strengthening him with the 'waters of wisdom'.[21] And in such a person faith in God which is absolutely necessary for leading a mystic life grows in strength. Basavesvara earnestly pleaded for the cultivation of well-founded and firm faith in *Linga* (God) and *Jangama* (devotees).[22] High moral sense and unshakable belief in the Almighty led Basavesvara to abandon his ego and surrender himself entirely to the will of God. Addressing the Lord Kudala Sangamadeva, he exclaimed: "Lord, Thou art my father, Thou art my mother, Thou art my near and dear relation and there is none to protect me other than Thee."[23] Further, Basavesvara thought that there was absolutely no difference between him and other *Saranas*. Ultimately this step led him to identify himself with the Supreme, Siva. Basavesvara was conscious of nothing except the presence of Siva everywhere. He had the all absorbing mystic experience of merging into the 'Omnipresent mass' and of being one with the 'Omniscient light'—the indivisible Supreme.[24]

Basavesvara proclaimed in unmistakable terms that *Kayaka* or work was the surest path to salvation. But it is not mere occupation of physical labour. It denotes the profession of a person who consciously considers his work as a part of his religious life. In other words *Kayaka* is a duty by which one has to maintain oneself, and render its proceeds to the welfare of the society as a whole. To Basavesvara the life of an honest worker is the life of one who is really dedicated to God. It is much better to earn one's living with

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[19] Srinivasamurthy, M. R., *Bhaktibhandari Basavannanavaru* (Bangalore, 1946), p. 33.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 57.

the sweat of his brow than carry on a parasitical existence.[25]

Further, to Basavesvara, there is neither high nor low among men. What makes one high is the love of God and what makes one low is the lack of faith in God. What makes one high is good conduct and what makes one low is bad conduct.[26] In the eyes of Basavesvara there is no occupation which is high or low. He believed in the dignity of labour. He enumerates a number of saints who were great lovers of God but who pursued their own humble avocations as washermen, potters and the like.[27] He did not discriminate between one profession and another and thus exploded the unholy alliance maintained till then between caste and profession. Work thus received the sanctity of religious observance and it must have resulted in the release of tremendous energy for the good of the people.

Improvement in the status of women in the social and religious walks of life was another notable contribution of Basavesvara. For political reasons the position of women in the Hindu society had suffered. He pleaded for and provided scope for women to come forward in obtaining knowledge both secu'ar and spiritual and participate in all walksof life. History has recorded a good number of reformers who promoted the welfare and bettered the position of women in society. Bu tBasavesvara occupies a pre-eminent place in this regard. The *Anubhava Mantapa* founded by him had a good number of women as its members. By introducing the ceremony of *Linga Diksha*, *Virasaivism* threw open its doors to men and women alike, of all castes and creeds. Women were in no way considered inferior to men. Consequently, the contributions of women in religious experience were not only welcomed but were highly appreciated and encouraged. The discussion that took place between Akka Mahadevi and Allama Prabhu is one of the most glorious chapters in *Sunya Sampadane*. And the former emerges as a distinguished *Sarane* (saint). Basavesvara along with others joins in the chorus of her praise.[28] Through some of his *vachanas*, he makes known his attitude towards women.[29] Thus the wind of change which softly blew made many women grow to the full stature of which they were capable.[30]

The contribution of Basavesvara to the Kannada language and literature is immense. He was a pioneer in this regard. He couched

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[25] Dr. L. Basavaraju, *Basava Vachanamrita*.

[26] *Ibid*.

[27] *Ibid*.

[28] *Sunya Sampadane*, ed., Prof. S. S. Bhusnurmath (Rawoor and Advani, 1965), p. 293.

[29] *Basavannanavara Vachanagalu*, ed., Prof. S. S. Basavanal (Bijapur, 1962), Nos. 445, 446, 640, 641, 643, 676 and 735.

[30] *Sivasaraneyara Charitregalu*. ed., P. G. Halakatti (Bijapur, 1959), pp. 3-196. See also *Sunya Sampadane*, verse 8-9.

his teachings in simple verse form of rare felicity known as *vachana*. This form of literature was adopted by many *Virasaiva Saranas* and other saints of the later period. Thus as a pioneer of this literary form Basavesvara has left an indelible mark on the history of Kannada literature. The *vachanas* are spontaneous utterances of Basavesvara and other *Saranas*. They are simple, graceful and attractive and reflect about God, the world and the man and their inter-relations. They embody rich religious experiences and the ennobling moral insight of the *Sivasaranas*. They are the sources of moral strength and courage. They serve as guide posts for man on his path to the Eternal from the ephemeral. Dr. Mugali has rightly remarked that the *vachanas* are "spiritual lyrics" and "springs of beauty flown from the peak of devotion".

Thus from the standpoint of the subject matter, lucidity, simplicity, charm of style and the depth of meaning the *vachanas* deserve to be reckoned as classics and rightly regarded as treasures of religious thought which are as valuable as the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgita*.

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Some Aspects of the Teachings of the Haridasas

G. SRINIVASAN

THE system of Vedanta taught by Sri Madhva in the 13th century A.D. formed the philosophical basis of the two traditions of *Vaishnava* saints who succeeded him. These two traditions are familiarly known as *Vyasakuta* and *Dasakuta*. The saints of *Vyasakuta* wrote commentaries in Sanskrit and stressed the need for scriptural knowledge and devotion to the Divine; they were great scholars in scriptures, sought to solve the philosophical riddles and defend the truths of Sri Madhva's philosophy against the criticisms of the other schools of thought. The saints of *Dasakuta*, on the other hand, preached the same truths to the masses through the medium of Kannada and emphasised among them the need for worship and cultivation of devotion to the Divine. But it will be incorrect to over-emphasise the distinction of these two traditions, since, apart from the difference in the medium of composition, the spirit of their teaching was the same: both emphasised devotion to God and there was no philosophical or doctrinal differences between them. Moreover, many saints composed both in Sanskrit and Kannada, and thus expressed the ideas of *Vaishnava* philosophy in both these languages. However, Sri Sripadaraya, Sri Vyasaraja, Sri Vadiraja and Sri Raghavendra may be said to belong primarily to *Vyasakuta*, while Sri Purandara, Sri Vijayadasa, Sri Gopaladasa and Sri Jagannathadasa may be said to belong to *Dasakuta*.

The *Vaishnava* saints who preached the cult of *Vishnubhakti* in Kannada having as their basis the philosophy of Sri Madhva were known as the Haridasas, and the Haridasa movement may be said to extend roughly from the 15th century to the 19th century A.D. For a proper assessment of their teaching, it would be necessary to take into consideration the general import of their teaching without attaching undue importance to some of its apparent sectarian implications. Concentrating on the general import of their teaching, it can be rightly said that their teaching undoubtedly has a meaning and message for the whole of humanity irrespective of caste or creed.

Taking the word 'philosophical' in a broad sense, it can be said that these saints have emphasised the need for cultivating a philo-

sophical attitude to life. Their attitude, however, is not merely logical or intellectual, but is charged with emotion. But what is emotive need not necessarily be less philosophical. For, many a basic truth of existence comes to be disclosed to us emotively, and not through intellectual analysis. The Haridasas have expressed their reaction to worldly experience, and since experiences are 'felt', their reaction to those experiences cannot be but emotive. Accordingly, the teaching of the Haridasas is full of concepts which are emotive and philosophical but not logical or intellectual.

The philosophy of the Haridasas has a psychological origin inasmuch as it springs from a dissatisfaction felt at the pleasures of the world. This dissatisfaction is not, however, merely due to the fact that there is more pain than pleasure in the world, but due to the awareness of the transitoriness and the 'vacuity' of worldly pleasures. Accordingly, worldly pleasures fail to 'satisfy' even while they last and can hardly be distinguished from pain inasmuch as they are sure to bring pain in consequence. The worldly life of pleasure and pain is hence said to be uninteresting (*nissara*) and is characterised as one of misery (*duhkha*).

The teaching of the Haridasas is characterised by the devaluation of all the worldly possessions from the standpoint of death. Death is inevitable and imminent : it 'disrelates' the individual from all his worldly possessions and thereby reduces them to 'nothing' ; the worldly possessions are thus ultimately worthless and are not worth pursuing.

Out of this awareness of the transitoriness, inner 'vacuity' and ultimate worthlessness of all worldly possessions and pleasures, the individual develops the sense of surrounding misery about the whole life. Misery or *duhkha* does not arise out of this or that object in the external world, but is a basic feeling which expresses the individual's reactions to life as a whole. It is not a fleeting feeling of the individual, but an abiding one ; but he often seeks to escape from it by involving himself in sensuous activities through his extrovertive consciousness. However, *duhkha* announces itself as that from which he is trying to escape and thus reminds him of itself throughout his worldly life. When this feeling of misery (*duhkha*) comes to be faced and accepted by the individual, the feeling of detachment from the worldly objects will become manifest in him.

Almost every saint has distinguished between the false and the true detachment (*vairagya*). The false detachment is purely external and a feigned one ; it is only the device of the cunning people to earn their livelihood. True detachment, on the other hand, is interior and is born of genuine loss of interest or desire towards the worldly possessions. Moreover, true detachment is not a passing

feeling but a deep and enduring one which becomes the precondition of one's devotion to God.

All the Haridasas have, however, pointed out that true detachment is most difficult to cultivate since man is liable to worldly temptations in spite of his awareness of the consequent misery. Hence, in order to develop and sustain detachment from the worldly objects, man should pray God to help him do it. Detachment is thus the result of the grace of God and praying for detachment is true devotion to Him. In true devotion, man does not ask God to give him worldly prosperity but to detach him from it so as to make him fully aware of his own 'true' being or nature.

This brings us to a distinction of the two levels of human existence—the authentic and the unauthentic—which is present all through the teachings of the Haridasas. The authentic existence consists in the realization of God's independence and supremacy and the dependence of all beings including oneself on Him for existence, knowledge and activity, whereas the unauthentic existence consists in man's ignorance of God's supremacy and acting under a false sense of one's own independence with the view of procuring worldly happiness. The Haridasa movement, in a nutshell, is a call addressed to each man to awaken himself from his unauthentic existence and to tread the path of authentic existence.

However, the implications of authentic existence preached by the Haridasas should be carefully noted. Firstly, it is obvious that it does not mean in their *Vaishnava* philosophy what is implied in the Atheistic Existentialism of Sartre.[1] That is to say, it does not mean living the life of ethical freedom with a sense of 'forlornness', but living a virtuous life with a sense of complete dependence on God. Secondly, the authentic existence emphasised by the Haridasas does not necessarily imply the forsaking of the family or society, but participation in social life in a virtuous manner resigning the fruits of action to God. Authentic existence is thus a life of commitment to God through sincere devotion. Thirdly, neither mere textual scholarship nor mere ethical life would by itself be regarded as authentic existence, since neither by itself would be able to lead a man towards liberation from worldly misery and realization of eternal bliss in proximity to God; it is only when they are coupled with devotion to God they become the effective means of authentic existence. Devotion to God is thus the ruling principle of authentic life, and life lived in accordance with it will earn His grace and lead man towards the fulfilment of his being or *mukti*.

This path of devotion is prescribed by the Haridasas, not as

[1] For a critical exposition of Sartre's Existentialism, please see my book, *The Existentialist Concepts and the Hindu Philosophical Systems*, Udayana Publications, Allahabad, 1967.

one of the alternative paths to God-realization, but as the only path. The reality of God can be grasped only through experiencing it and devotion is the only means of experiencing it. Moreover right knowledge and virtuous life which are emphasised by the Haridasas are the preliminary and inseparable conditions of devotion and hence cannot be regarded as independent paths. Nor would it be correct to say that the path of devotion is an easy one and that the Haridasas taught it in preference to the other paths considered to be more difficult. For, true devotion is said to be the result of one's inner transcendence of all selfish attachments, and the difficulty of cultivating true devotion has been equally emphasised by all the Haridasas.

The Haridasas were not mere social reformers in the strict sense of the term. Nevertheless they were intensely aware of all social evils and sought to remedy them by their teaching. The spirit of their teaching was that all social evils would spring from man's selfishness, and hence if selfishness could be overcome through the cultivation of devotion to god and disinterestedness *(virakti)* in worldly pleasures, all forms of human wickedness would disappear. In fact, the teaching of the Haridasas was characterised by the great stress they laid on the importance of virtuous life. They insisted that man would become great or small not by virtue of his birth in a caste but by virtue of the kind of life he lived. Accordingly, any one could be regarded as of low caste (*holeya*) depending on his immoral behaviour. In a well-known song, Sri Purandaradasa has said :

> There is no *holeya* or *holati* in the *Holageri*. He is a *holeya* who is harsh to his father and mother and in his infatuation to his wife. She is a *holati* who hates her husband and conspires with her sons against him ; he is a *holeya* who having acquired learning and happiness learns to scorn the aged ; she is a *holati* who panders to other men and is constantly irritating and cantankerous to her husband : he is a *holeya* who remains unaffected by tenderness at the sight of those who are feeble and wretched ; she is a *holati* who is always quarrelsome, jealous and lustful ; he is a *holeya* who does not love or worship God ; she is a *holati* who seeks to live oblivious of God.[2]

The Haridasas are to be regarded as mystic, and for them God is not a logical concept or an ethical idea but a 'living' personality. The concept of personality has a much richer connotation than the concept of man, and God conceived as the supreme personality is not only free from all the egoistic limitations of man, but possesses

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[2] Translated and quoted by Dr. M. V. Krishna Rao, *in Purandara and the Haridasa Movement*, Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1966, pp. 142-143.

all the auspicious attributes in limitless abundance. Moreover, the conception of God as the supreme personality makes 'meaningful communication' possible between Him and the devotee. In this personal relation, the devotee addresses God in the second person as 'Thou' and regards Him as his Father, Mother, Son and Relation ; while all his relationships with the world seem to be transitory and deceptive, he realizes the truth that God alone is his unfailing saviour and guide. There is a special emphasis placed on the compassion of God by the Haridasas ; the individual's devotion to God and God's compassion for the yearning individual are indeed integral to each other in a mystic's personal relationship with God.

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Humanism of Sri Madhva and the Saint Singers of Karnataka

P. NAGARAJA RAO

AMONG the theistic movements in India's Vedanta, the philosopher Sri Madhva ranks very high. Sri Madhva's love of God was unparalleled in its fervour and uncompromising zeal. To him God is all and all is for God. His glowing theism does not content itself by describing the glory, greatness and the infinite power of the Lord. He is interested in man and his individual well-being and spiritual regeneration. Indian theism is essentially humanistic. The term humanism irritates some orthodox religionists, for they feel humanism means evaporation of God and His power, and the reinstation in its place, man or the abstract term humanity. Scientific and Secular Humanism claims that man is the only reality, and there is nothing real besides man. They identify man with his perishable physique and psyche and not with the immortal soul. It is this nihilistic attitude that offends the religionists. Secular Humanism limits man's requirements to his physical wants and biological needs. It is external humanism whose sole and chief concern is the outer paraphernalia of life, e.g., healthy, variegated and excited human life. The spiritual religionists whose exemplars are the mystics disclose a *basic humanism* that is interior. Spiritual religion is *basic humanism*. There is a tendencious interpretation by unsympathetic critics that "Indian culture is all spiritual *ergo* religious, *ergo* God-intoxicated." From this it is inferred that India was a nation of sages and anchorites, all of them eager to die and reserve a berth in the next world, neglecting present life. The prevalent criticism is that the Hindu religionist's view has despised vital aims, social satisfaction and obligations and aesthetic life and conceded no reality and concern for life here and now.

The criticism acquires some substance from the wrong stress laid on renunciation and the adoption of the negative slant. Sri Madhva and his disciples and a long line of songster-mystics of Karnataka, who were his followers have made it clear that one cannot be religious without being *moral*. We cannot bypass morality. A good life is essential and basic to realise God. The *Katha Upanishad* is emphatic on it. "Not he who has not desisted from evil ways, not he who is not tranquil, not he who has not a concentrated mind and not even he

whose mind is not composed can reach the Self through right knowledge." The songster-saints of Karnataka have been true to their master Sri Madhva in stressing the need for *social service* like healing the sick, helping the needy, comforting the troubled, and instructing the ignorant in their own regional language with examples drawn from the world of pots and pans, as a form of divine worship. Sri Madhva in his splendid summary on the *Bhagavadgita*, clinches the issue of the right relation between *service to man and worship of the Lord.* He writes: "Service to humanity must be done as the payment of taxes to a government by a citizen." "Proper and timely help rendered to living beings pleases the Lord (Kesava)." Service to humanity is a part and parcel of divine life. It is inescapable. There is current a view believed in by many that service to man is a secular activity and one interested in godly life need not pay heed to it and it is enough if one engages in ritualistic worship of the Lord the entire day and be lost in it. Sri Madhva's significant observation is the salutary corrective to this view. It is not enough for a devotee to be engaged the entire day in ritual worship and contemplation of God, but it is also part of his divine duty indispensable to serve humanity. In the *Bhagavata*, Uddhava is advised to worship and respect men around him in a spirit "non-different from friendliness by gifts and service to them." Theocentric Humanism cautions us not to forget the worshipful attitude to the Lord while serving humanity in many ways. Service to man oblivious of the spirit of the divine presence in men is incomplete. Devotion to God bereft of service to men who are reflections (*pratibimba*) of God is also incomplete. Devotion to God reinforced by service to humanity is the complete spiritual life. The English poet Coleridge has put it best :

> He prayeth well, who loveth well
> Both man, bird and beast
> He prayeth best who loveth best
> All things both great and small
> For the dear God who loveth us
> He made and loveth all.

Swami Vivekananda has clearly explained this central life-giving doctrine of religion : "This is the gift of all worship to be good and to do good to others. He who seeks Siva in the poor and weak, and in the diseased really worships Siva ; if he sees Siva only in the image, his worship is but preliminary. He who has served and helped one poor man, seeing Siva in him, without thinking of his caste or creed or race or anything, with him Siva is more pleased than he is with the man who sees him only in temples.

The genius of Swami Vivekananda was unique in equating service with worship. Through service to humanity, the moral and

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religious aspects of men grow. He writes instructively, contrary to the verdict of current ethics: "It is our privilege to be allowed to be charitable, for only so can we grow. The poor man suffers that we may be helped. Let the giver kneel down and give thanks, let receiver stand up and permit to see the Lord back of everything and give him." All the Haridasas, Purandara, Kanaka, Jagannatha, followed the path trailed by their master Sri Madhva. Purandara in a very important song states: "We must overcome the cycle of births and deaths (*samsara*) by living and swimming through it and emerge victorious." The saints insist on the necessity of living a dynamic, humanistic, ethical life as a form of spiritual duty. The centrality of man and the importance of human life and harmony is the constant theme of Indian theisms. The saints of the Madhva tradition glorify man as the being who is capable of knowing and living in accord with the highest truths of the universe. The *Mahabharata* declares: "This is the secret and supreme doctrine, I announce to you. There is nothing in the universe higher than man." Not to have faith in man and his potentialities for love is atheism. Professor A. Chakravarthi in his *Miller Lectures* has pointedly brought home the truth "The history of Indian thought is the history of humanism with a bias towards spirituality. We may say, in short, that Indian Philosophy is a running commentary on the Text "Thank that I am a man". Sri Aurobindo says: "Man is a spirit veiled in the works of energy and moving to self-discovery." Liberation is not a selfish spiritual activity centering round men. Man is man and grows to his full stature only in society. "Liberation is a project for humanity, not of individual man." Man therefore, "must disabuse his mind once for all of the notion that he can realise his spiritual soul apart from others." The Indian Epics and Puranas proclaim in no uncertain terms, that the path of love and service to fellow-men is the path of God-realisation. The moral savants affirm by their lives, the truth of Christ's saying "verily I say unto you inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brothern ye have done to me."

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Sermons on Universal Toleration in Stone

G. HANUMANTHA RAO

I

TOLERATION in religious matters was anathema in Christian Europe until the period of Reformation. Reformed Christianity allowed a certain amount of freedom to Christians of all denominations who believed in the Bible. Locke's famous essay on Toleration extended religious freedom to all who believed in one God like the one revealed by the Christian gospel though they did not belong to any Church. He urged that the state should not permit the church and Christian society to persecute rational theists. This was acclaimed as "Universal Toleration" by all European countries. But it cannot be said to be universal toleration since Locke refused toleration to "all who denied the being of God." Locke's philosophy of religion was narrow since it did not take into account atheistic religions like Buddhism and Jainism and pluralistic theisms which admitted one great God along with a hierarchy of Gods. Even his attitude towards theistic religions other than Christianity was negative and not one of positive interest. He did not emphasize that positive love of other religions was for the good of one's own religion and its fruitful growth.

II

Jainism and Buddhism upheld this liberal outlook in religious matters. The Buddha enjoined that his disciples should listen patiently to what others differing from them had to say. He pointed out that this would enable them to know the defects of their own religion and correct them in the light of what is good in other religions. He proclaimed in his *Dhammapada* "not by hatred are hatreds removed, but by love is hatred removed: this dharma is eternal; The *Mahabharata* states the same in other words. "By non-hatred is hatred to be conquered, by goodness evil, by charity greed, by truth falsity."

This positive spirit of toleration finds classic expression in Asoka's Edict No. 12. It is not stated there as a speculative principle but is recognised as a practical law of the state by Asoka who styles himself 'Devanampriya Priyadarsi.' It is a regular sermon in stone and is rendered into English as follows:

1. Devanampriya Priyadarsi respects persons of all religious persuations, recluses and house-holders alike with various gifts and offerings.
2. Yet, Devanampriya Priyadarsi does not deem these gifts and offerings as higher than the promotion of the essence of religions.
3. The promotion of the essence of religions is achieved in all several ways.
4. But the most important of them is control over speech. One should control one's speech without unnecessarily boosting one's own religion and deprecating religions other than one's own. Whenever there is occasion for speaking about one's one should be temperate.
5. Other religions should be respected in all possible ways. By so doing one's own religion prospers, other religions are also profited. By acting contrary to this rule one's own religion decays and other religions are also harmed.
6. If, out of partiality towards one's own religion, one praises one's own religion to the skies and denounces other religions, he certainly offends his own and makes it disreputable.
7. *Samvaya* (congregation of persons belonging to different religions for friendly exchange of ideas) is what is auspicious; the aim of such congregations is to enable one, through the acquaintance of other religions, to become well versed in many religions and their sacred texts. This is the desire of Devanampriya Priyadarsi.
8. When persons interested in other religions assemble, a declaration should be made to this effect: "Every religion should prosper. Devanampriya Priyadarsi does not consider gifts and offerings as higher than this.
9. With this object in view, ministers—male and female (*Dharmamahamatras*, *Strimahamatras* and *Vajrabhumikas*) have been appointed in all places.
10. The resultant benefit is prosperity of one's own religion and morality.[1]

III

This proclamation of universal toleration does not stand alone in the history of India. The spirit of such toleration has pervaded Indian history and it has been upheld continuously inspite of petty religious bickerings that have raised their head, now and then. It is the object of this article to point out the not so well known fact that this spirit has pervaded the history of Karnataka.

Asoka's spirit of positive universal toleration found a fertile

[1] Hultzch, *Asokan inscriptions*—Edict No. XII.

soil in Karnataka. Evacuees from the north found Karnataka to be very hospitable to them. It thrived there and its philosophers and poets have figured among the great philosophers and poets of Karnataka. In a laudatory verse of a Kannada inscription, a Jaina poet has praised Karnataka as the home of toleration—

ವಿನಯುದಾಗರಮುದಾ......
ತರು ಕರ್ನಾಟದೇಶಂ

An inscription of the Chalukya period, dated 1129 A.D., states that Balligave was the centre of monasteries and temples dedicated to Vishnu, Siva, the Buddha and Jina—

ಹರಿಹರ ಕಮಲಾಸನ ವೀತರಾಗ ಬೌದ್ಧಾಲಯುಗಳಿಂದಿಸ
ವಸುಂಧರೆಗೆಸೆವ ಪಂಚಶರದಂತಿರೆ ಪಂಚಮಠಂಗಳೆಸೆವ
ಪಟ್ಟಣ......

The Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana, a *Vishnubhakta*, encouraged Jainism. His chief consort Santaladevi was a Jain by birth. Lakshmi whom he married at the same time was daughter of an orthodox *Srivaishnava* Brahmin.

IV

An inscription of the period of Hariharadeva found in the Chennakesava temple at Belur is a masterpiece of religious toleration as the temple in which it is installed is a masterpiece of Hoysala sculpture and architecture. In the invocatory portion of the inscription which is in Sanskrit the poet—philosoper, in invoking lord Kesava of the temple, invokes at the same time all that is considered holy whether it is a theistic God or an enlightened soul like the Buddha or a spiritual hero like Mahavira who are respected by persons who are professedly atheistic.

The text of the verses is as follows:

श्रीमत्त्रैलोक्य पूज्याय सर्वकर्मसुसाक्षिणे ।
फलदाय नमो नित्यं केशवाय शिवाय च ॥
यं शैवाः समुपासते शिव इति ब्रह्मेति वेदांतिनो
बौद्धा बुद्ध इति प्रमाणपटवः कर्तेति नैयायिकाः ।
अर्हन्नित्यथ जैनशासनरताः कर्मेति मीमांसकाः
सोऽयं वो विदधातु वांछितफलं श्रीकेशवेशः सदा ॥[2]

The first two lines offer obeisance to both Kesava and Siva as deities worshipped in all three worlds, as superintendents over men's actions and as distributors of the fruits of their deeds (*Karma*). It reflects the pauranic sentiment that Siva is in essence the same as Vishnu, Siva is the heart of Vishnu and Vishnu is the heart of Siva, and the offering made to Siva is an offering made to Vishnu also. This

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, V, Part I, p. 99.

verse harmonises the two most important orthodox and popular theisms. The subsequent portion relates to the spiritual principle that is upheld by two orthodox vedic systems like Vedanta and Purva Mimamsa, pauranic religions like Saivism and Vaishnavism, rationalistic system like Nyaya and two heterodox systems like Buddhism and Jainism. The purport of that portion is as follows. 'May he who is adored by Saivas as Siva, by Vedantins as Brahman, by Buddhists as the Buddha (the enlightened), by experts in reasoning like Naiyayikas as the creator, by well-informed Jains as the Arhat (the emancipated), by Mimamsakas as *Karma* and who is the same as Kesava give to the aspirant, at all times, the fruit he desires'.

Here the concept of the holy has a wider import than what it usually has. Whatever is believed as auspicious or good, whatever is believed as helping man to free himself from the misery of bondage should be considered as a holy object and should be respected equally.

V

Another notable sermon in stone belongs to the period of Bukkaraya, one of the founders of the Vijayanar empire. The occasion of this inscription[3] was the dissension that arose between the Jains and *Srivaishnava* of Karnataka. It is stated in this Kannada inscription that Bukkaraya placed the palms of Jains in the palms of *Srivaishnavas* and spoke to them thus: "The Jaina religion is not inimical to to *Srivaishnava* religion. It should be clearly understood that if the Jaina religion is harmed or helped Srivaisnava religion is likewise harmed or helped. A declaration should be made to this effect and stone inscriptions embodying it should be installed in the several monasteries that lie within the *Srivaishnava* regions. Until the sun and moon last, the *Srivaishnava* should respect Jainism. The Jains and *Srivaishnavas*are parts of a single body; they are not opponents."

The inscription concludes thus: "Any one who violates this law (of toleration), is a traitor to the king, country and religious societies. Any one, be he an ascetic or head of a town, who violates this law, incurs the sin of having killed a cow on the banks of the Ganges." Three important points should be noted in this inscription: (1) Bukkaraya was a staunch *Srivaishnava*, a member of a major theistic order. He stands as the protector of a non-theistic minor religious community; (2) More important than this, he declares that harm done to Jaina religion is harm done to *Srivaishnava* religion. If one religion is harmed other religions are also harmed, for the spirit of the holy is common to all. If Jainism thrives Vaishnavism also thrives. Where there is universal toleration all religions thrive equally. The concept of the holy is thereby enriched and enlarged.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, II, No. 146.

(3) Thirdly this law of the spirit is objectified as the law of the state and becomes a part of public morality, the national morality. Violation of this law is not merely a crime but a sin comparable to the heinous sin of killing a cow on the banks of the sacred river Ganges.

VI

It is this spirit of universal toleration that has pervaded the history of India that Mahatma Gandhi made it his life's mission to propogate. He worked ceaselessly for establishing harmony between the Hindu and Muslim communities. Liberated India has, true to the message Mahatma Gandhi, infused this universal toleration into its constitution.

43

Sri Vidyaranya—The Impersonal Person

K. B. RAMAKRISHNA RAO

THE name of Sri Vidyaranya is familiar to students both of Indian History and Philosophy. As the Visionary behind the founding of the city of Vijayanagar (1336 A.D.) and the Vijayanagar Empire his name is one with those of Harihara and Bukka, whom he helped to found the Empire, an empire not necessarily political but one which aimed to bring out conditions for good and free life for all sections of the community irrespective of religion or faith. Those who are acquainted with the contemporary history of the Deccan will know the difficult days of uncertainty and communal or religious venom which betook thousands of Hindu lives. The religious and political persecution of the Hindus by the Muslim rulers in this part of India was so painful to bear that the times awaited a dynamic yet spiritual leader to institute a state of free and fearless living for all. A person of a very high order fully equipped with the spiritual background of universal philosophy standing for love and tolerance was the necessity of the times, and it was the destiny of the country which chose Sri Vidyaranya to play the role. It is not unusual to read descriptions of the Vijayanagar Empire, which he helped to found, as essentially a 'Hindu' empire. But it would be a travesty of truth, if the description 'Hindu' is mistaken for yet another religious or sectarian kingdom brought into being to fight the onslaughts and cruelties of the regional (i.e. the Deccan) and the central (i.e. Delhi) Muslim rulers. Those who understand the essentials of the 'Hindu' mind will not fail to recognise the secularism of Hinduism where every religion has the free choice to prosper and live together. This was quite evident in the Golden Age of the Vijayanagar Empire, under the benign aegis of Krishnadeva Raya (A.D. 1509–29).

Is it an accident of history that the young brothers Harihara and Bukka met the ascetic known to history as Sri Vidyaranya? Even if it is, we have another instance of a spiritual hero well versed in Vedic lore who helped to found an empire, himself withdrawing from the scene as soon as the mission was over. That was Sri Vishnugupta known to history as Kautilya who helped

Chandragupta Maurya to found an empire in India in the pre-Christian era. What appear to be 'accidents' in history are not so from the larger perspective of the collocation of circumstances in the lives of nations and peoples.

It is part of Indian tradition that whenever political heads have the benefit of advice and guidance of spiritual persons, the country prospered in all fields and peace prevailed in the lives of men. The two great Epics—the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*—bear ample evidence of Seers or *Rishis* and saints being the ministers of state for whom no life was trivial to be cut away, and no value small enough to be neglected, and who saw righteousness in everything and spiritual in the mundane. In what appears to be a barren and scorching atmosphere of today, if the Indian Republic has declared itself secular, it is not an accident of history, but is only an indication that the tradition of free life and tolerance has not died out, and that the feelings of universal friendship and amity are still fresh. The springs of this tradition are deep and are sure to sustain life even amidst a general parching and panting for breath.

Sri Vidyaranya stands as a supreme example of that instance of the history of a nation which looks at man as a man, and looks up man's relationship under a wider universal relationship with all existence. It is in this aspect Sri Vidyaranya is familiar to students of Indian spirituality and philosophy.

It is not valid to commit Sri Vidyaranya to any particular school of philosophy or a religious and regional perspective, but would be fair to judge his personality as one which bore a universal vision of life and existence. and for whom philosophy, religion, ethics, politics, economics and arts etc. were elements of a fuller life to be lived here while one betakes the blessed gifts of the world. The tradition in which he was firmly established—as is evidenced in the great works of his : *Panchadasi*, *Jivanmukti Viveka*, *Vivarna-prameya sangraha* etc.--gave him the proper perspective of evaluation. What should be served first is the universal, the all-encompassing, the unchanging righteousness, call it 'Dharma' or 'Brahman'. It is the being of all, the sustenance of all and the ultimate refuge of all. Great is the vision of the person who has discovered for himself this basic standard of judgement in his evaluations of multiplicity, difference and abstraction on the scales of unity of existence, in his evaluations of hate, greed and lust against the transforming doctrine of love, magnanimity and control, and in his evaluations of all worldly and mundane activities on the touchstone of the spiritual and the universal. Here was an ascetic who did not spurn the world and life for their material and physical associations. He was a spiritual alchemist who wanted to see the divine in everything. When he lived he radiated wisdom, under-

standing, love and respect. It is no wonder he inspired the empire builders, religious aspirants, social reformers, artists and poets, scholars and writers and common men alike, all of whom took with them to offer to him all that they had, but received them back thrice blessed by this Saint. Here lived a person to the glory of India, nay, to the glory of Mankind.

Yes, it is strange, this 'emperor of a spiritual kingdom' has not left for us two things which we normally would take particular interest to bestow on posterity as our legacy, viz. the information of his birth and information of his death. We do not know where Sri Vidyaranya was born, or where his '*samadhi*' lies !

Sri Vidyaranya's life is an example of the spiritual tradition of this country which has neither beginning nor end. As such if all the 'historical' anecdotes are doubted and contested—as it is being done—it does not matter and will not create a dent in the form of his impersonal person. With regard to the Highest and men like Sri Vidyaranya it is not altogether meaningless if we remember the upanishadic statement :

"न तस्य प्रतिमा अस्ति यस्य नाम महद्यशः" which means, there is no form of It (but) whose name is just Great Glory.

Sri Madhvacharya: His Period

K. V. ACHARYA

SRI Madhvacharya travelled all over India and spread the Dvaita system of Philosophy. *Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya* is one of the most important and basic works of Sri Madhva, which gives a glimpse into the date of its author. The 'Kaifiyats' of Sri Pejawar, Sri Admar and Sri Palimar mutts of Udipi are also in concurrence with the same date mentioned in *Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya*. A reference made to this in *Sumadhva Vijaya* and the date pertaining to the epigraph of Sri Naraharitirtha supplement this. Deeming that these concurrent opinions from the four sources are admissible by the interested class of readers, the present writer has tried to summarise them in the following pages:

I. Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya

चतुस्सहस्रे त्रिशतोत्तरे गते ।
संवत्सराणां तु कलौ पृथिव्याम् ॥
जातः पुनः विप्रतनुः स भीमो ।
दैत्यैर्निगूढं हरितत्त्वमाह ॥ (32-131)

Herein Sri Madhvacharya has clearly mentioned the time of his birth stating that after a lapse of four thousand and three hundred years in 'Kaliyuga', Bhima took his birth as a Brahmin and disclosed 'Haritattva' which was so far hidden by the *Daityas*. The period 4,300 years in Kaliyuga corresponds to 1,200 of the Christian era (the beginning of the Christian era being marked when a period of 3,100 years had lapsed in the Kaliyuga). The usage of 'गते' in 'Sati' locative (*satisaptami*) leads us to conclude that Sri Madhvacharya was born somewhere about the aforesaid period. It is also to be remembered that in many Sanskrit, Kannada and other native works, statements about the birth of the author or the date of composition of the work are made and that they are accepted by the critics without much discussion. On the same grounds, the aforesaid date mentioned in Sri Madhvacharya's work deserves to be accepted.

It is not proper to presume that the passage mentioning the date is *Prakshipta* i.e., added later on in the work by somebody, for the preceding and the following contexts donot give rise to a doubt

as such anyway. The Kannada commentary of Sri Vadirajasvami on these verses supports the fact aforesaid (page 89, 341). These two verses can be traced in all the verses of *Mahabharata Tatparya Nirnaya* (whether published or unpublished). The fact being as such, the statement of Sri Madhvacharya about his own date is an established evidence.

II. 'Kaifiyats' of the Udipi mutts

The 'Kaifiyat' of Sri Pejawar Mutt, preserved in the Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, also stands by the same chronological statement (d. 1827). The 'Kaifiyat' of the Sri AdmarMutt also is in support of the same date (the author has written regarding this in the 'Yugapurusha' monthly). The facts in the'Kaifiyats' of the Sri Palimar Mutt also coincide with the same date (See *Sri Krishnana Udipi* of Sri Bannanje Ramachar) :

1. 1121 Salivahanasaka (1199 A.D.): Kalayukti, Magha Sukla-paksha 7 : Birth of Sri Madhvacharya (*avatara*).
2. 1128 Saka (1206 A.D.) : Krodhana, Pushya Sukla-paksha 5 : *Upanayana* (Thread ceremony).
3. 1130 Saka (1208 A.D.) : Prabhava, Vaisakha Sukla-paksha 3 : *Asrama Sveekara* (Took to ascetic life).
4. 1160 Saka (1238 A.D.) : Hevilambi, Magha Sukla-paksha 3 : Installation of the deity of Lord Krishna.
5. 1180 Saka (1258 A.D.) : Pingala, Vaisakha Sukla-paksha 7 : *Asramadana*.
6. 1200 Saka (1278 A.D.) : Isvara, Magha Sukla-paksha 9 : Journey to Badari (*Niryana*).

(In the 'Kaifiyat' of Palimar Mutt though there is a difference of one year or two and a few months in the beginning, the date of *Niryana* exactly coincides with this. Such differences are seen in stone edicts also). As Sri Madhvacharya has himself stated, we may conclude that he was born in the neighbourhood of 1200 A.D.

III. Sumadhva Vijaya

क्वचिदीश्वरदेवमेघभूपं
खननं पांथजनैर्विधापयंतं ।
स्वमपि प्रतिचोदयंतमूचे
क्रियया नोऽकुशलान् प्रबोधयेति ॥ (10-4)

This verse tells us that when Sri Madhvacharya was asked by a king by name Isvaradeva, who used to extract labour (digging) from the passers by (travellers), to dig the ground, he told the king that people who were not experienced in such works should be guided to do so. This incident is not synchronous with the one that happened on the

banks of the river Ganges (गंगातट) during Madhva's travel through North India, narrated in the same work (The usage of कदाचित् in the first sentence of the X cantoand the usage of क्वचित् here denote that the two incidents took place at different times). It is also to be noted that the king Isvaradeva was not from the North, but that he was a South Indian. Because it is evident from 'Madhvasuvvali' composed by Sri Vadirajaswami (Kannada composition, verse 67) :

ಕೇರಳ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ತೋಡು ಅಗಳುಂಪಿಂಪರೆ ನೀ,
ತೋರಿಸಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರೆ ನಾ ತೋಡುವೆನೆಂದರು.

It is clear from inscriptions that Hoysala Vira Somesvaradeva ruled Karnataka and Kannanore during 1234-1265 A.D., (refer *MAR.*, 1914-15). It is obvious that this 'Isvaradeva' was none but the same Hoysala Vira Somesvara. Even the periods coincide.

[During his travel through North India, there is an evidence form Nasiruddin (1236-56 A.D.) that Sri Madhvacharya conversed in *Turushkavani* (Persian)].

IV. Inscription of Sri Narahari

In *Sumadhva Vijaya,* we get nine prominent names of the disciples of Sri Madhvacharya. Another name, Sri Narahari Tirtha is found in the inscription of Srikurmam in Ganjam District and also in the inscription of Simlachala in Visakapatnam. These epigraphs belong to Saka 1186-1215 (1264-94 A.D.). Sri Madhvacharya took charge of the kingdom when the king died, as per the tradition and returned the same to the prince Viranarasimha II in 1275 A.D., after the prince befitted himself to shoulder the responsibility of the throne. The idols of Sitarama were offered to Sri Madhvacharya which were worshipped by him during *Khagaja* days. After his *Niryana* in 1278-79, Sri Padmanabha Tirtha worshipped them for the next six years upto 1284-85 A.D. Following him, Sri Narahari Tirtha took charge of the worship for the next nine years (upto 1293-94 A.D.). Sri Narahari Tirtha would often visit Kalinga during these days. It is learnt that he got the last epigraph written on 3rd January 1294 and sought *Niryana* on the *Saptami* of Krishna-paksha of Pusya in the next year. Hence, it may be concluded that Sri Madhvacharya sought *Niryana* by 1294-95 A.D., after a lapse of 15-16 years. (It is not proper to assess as in *Anumadhva Vijaya* and some other works that Sri Madhvacharya was alive during 1238-1318 and that he sought *Niryana* after a lapse of 15-16 years of even more. Sri Narahari Tirtha sought *Niryana*. As the statement contradicts the words of Sri Madhvacharya himself, it is not acceptable).

In the light of the above observations, we may conclude that Sri Madhvacharya flourished during Saka 1121-1200 (1199-1200 to 1278-9).

NOTE: A number of scholars have expressed differing opinions about the period of Sri Madhvacharya which may also be noted:

1. In the Guru—tradition of Sri Uttaradi Mutt: Saka 1040-1120 (1118-1198 A.D.)
2. In the article by Sri N. S. Rajapurohit: Saka 1121-1179 (1199-1257 A.D.)
3. In an article by Sri Madurai Srinivasachar: (Saka 1127-1215 (1205-1293 A.D.)
4. Sri C. M. Padmanabhacharya:
   Sri M. Govinda Pai:
   Dr. B. N. Krishnamurthy Sarma:
   Dr. B. A. Saletore:
   } Saka 1160-1239 (1538-1318 A.D.)

The author has discussed the validity of the aforesaid dates in some of his articles which may kindly be referred to:

1. *Sahityada Hinnele*, pages 42-51 (Published by Sahitya Bandar, Hubli).
2. Commemoration Volume of Dr. P. K. Gore, Poona, Part III, Pages, 219-223 (Oriental Book Agency, Poona).

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

45

Numismatic Data from Banavasi

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

BANAVASI, the ancient celebrated city of Karnataka had not attracted the attention of archaeologists till recently. Though the epigraphs in this place were surveyed and the Madhukesvara temple was studied by enthusiastic scholars, a systematic survey of the antiquities had not been taken up. Hence, the department of Ancient history and Archaeology of the Mysore university took up systematic exploration and excavation in Banavasi from 1969. During the work of exploration and excavation of these three seasons many coins have come to light which are of great importance. Some of these are briefly discussed here.

One of the most important finds in the excavation is the discovery of an apsidal brick structure. It is a huge building which can be ascribed to the Satavahana period. Between the outer and inner apse of this structure was found a pit. In this pit were discovered important antiquities like the Kaolin painted ware, rouletted ware and what appears to be Samian ware and other contemporary wares along with broken glass beads with gold plating. In the lower levels of this pit was discovered a punch marked coin. Though the exact significance of the position of stratigraphy has yet to be worked out there is no doubt that the coin was found in the pre-Satavahana levels because the pit occurs below the floor level of the structure mentioned above. The punch marked coin discovered here is almost square but for an irregular shape in one of the corners. Though worn out, the coin is intact and the traces of the punched symbols can be seen though they cannot be clearly identified.

The chronology of the punch marked coins has been a debatable point in spite of many efforts. In Karnataka, punch marked coins of the early variety have been a rarity. Not many coins of this variety are known to have been reported in Karnataka area. A set of eleven punch marked coins are described in the Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological department for the year 1938. But the author of the report simply mentions that they were recieved from Dharwar. Whether they were found in Dharwar itself or in any other locality is not stated. Another set of punch marked coins

are described in the same publication for the year 1936. But it is clearly stated here that these coins were presented by Circar and Co., Madras. Obviously they are not found in Karnataka.

It is known that the punch marked coins were in circulation in north India as early as sixth century B.C. Punch marked coins are not so prolific in South India as compared to north. It is generally believed that the punch marked coins found in South India seem to have travelled from the north.[1] Further they do not exhibit any special trait by which they can be said to have been minted in the south.[2] On this basis the punch marked coins of south seem to be of a later date than those of the north. It has even been suggested that they begin with the expansion of Mauryan power in South India.

As already stated, the punch marked coin of Banavasi is found in pre-Satavahana levels and may be ascribed to the late Mauryan period. The suggestion that the punch marked coins of south belong to a later date than those of the north is confirmed by this coin found at Banavasi. This is the first coin of its type to be found in a stratigraphic context in Karnataka. The importance of the discovery of the Banavasi punch marked coin is that it suggests evidence for a tentative chronology for such coins in Karnataka area.

Further, Banavasi is said to have had connections with Mauryan emperor Asoka. But so far no contemporary evidence has been found to confirm this opinion. The present coin being pre-Satavahana and late Mauryan is thus a good evidence for Banavasi's connection with Mauryan period.

In the levels contemporary to the brick structure mentioned above were found small lead coins. Majority of them are highly worn out and decomposed. However, on the reverse of these coins can be easily seen the Ujjain symbol. Nothing can be seen in the obverse, though it can be surmised that it contained some legend. By comparing the size and the fabric of these coins, it becomes clear that they belonged to one of the Satavahana rulers and in all probability to Gautamiputra Satakarni.[3]

A potin coin in good state of preservation was shown to us by Sri M. C. Wodeyar, the chairman of the Madhukesvara temple committee. After studying this it became clear that it was the coin of Sri Yajna Satakarni. The obverse of this coin shows an elephant standing to the right and above the animal is seen a legend *'Siri yana satakanisa'* in Brahmi script. The reverse of this coin contains the Ujjain symbol occupying the entire space in the reverse. Further it

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[1] Parameshvari Lal Gupta, *Coins*, p. 43.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Elliot, Sir Walter : *Coins of Southern India* plate 1, coins 24 to 30 and plate II, coin 43.

was also reported that a pot containing similar coins were discovered inside the fortification wall of Banavasi. They all seem to be Satavahana coins.

Through the courtesy of Sri M. C. Wadeyar, we were able to get three more coins for our study. One of them is the coin of the Chutu king Mudananda and the other two belong to the king Chutukulananda. The coins of these kings have so far been found at Chandravalli and Karwar. Typologically these Chutu coins belong to the same variety as those of Karwar and Chandravalli. However, the Banavasi find broadens the geographical limitation of the occurrence of the Chutu coins. It is also worthy of note that Chutu coins are highly prolific in Banavasi as reported by the local people. The Chutu coins are very large and thick and contain a very big symbol of eight arches in three rows.[4] The bottom most row contains four arches, the middle row three and the top row only one. Over this symbol is the Brahmi legend *Rano Mulanandasa* in Mudananda's coin and *Rano Chutukulanandasa* in the coins of Chutukulananda. In the reverse is a tree in railing and to the left bottom of this are found two symbols. The symbol at the top looks like letter *a* in Brahmi and below that is a small circle with two dots on either side.

Besides these important coins which confirm the antiquity of this place, there are also other coins of Muslim and British rulers.

[4] However, P. L. Gupta states that they contain nine arches (*Coins*, p. 45). But from the illustration of the coin of Mudananda in his book (No. 120) there seems to be eight arches. If P. L. Gupta's opinion is correct the Banavasi coin should belong to a slightly different type.

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Some Aspects of the Agrarian System During the Hoysala Period

K. S. SHIVANNA

IN this paper an attempt has been made to examine a few aspects of the agrarian system like assessment and collection of land revenue, irrigation, ownership and land terms during the Hoysala period.

The Hoysalas had established a well-organised government, and inscriptions of the period show that they depended for their finance mainly upon the revenue derived from land. The most important branch of administaation in those days was that connected with the assessment and collection of land revenue. In spite of the gradual development of other forms of industy, land was the primary source of exploitation, from the sovereign to peasants, and various classes and institutions in society had a particullar interest in land.

Administration of land revenue during this period consisted of two stages: assessment and the actual collection. The first principle of such an assessment is that the revenue payable by the cultivator should be determined mainly by the class of soil and kind of cultivation. Arable land was divided into *gadde* (wet land), *beddalu* or *hola* (dry land) and *tota* (garden land).[1] Rice and sugarcane were grown on *gadde*, and dry crops were grown on *beddalu* whereas fruits, flowers and vegetables were grown in the *tota* and land was classified on the basis of the nature of the soil like black soil, red soil, salt land, yellow soil and gravel land.[2] This indicates that the principle of differential taxation with regard to land, that is, levying land tax according to the relative productivity of the arable lands was taken into consideration for assessment.

The second principle demands that the lands should be surveyed and measured before a settlement was made with the cultivators. For the purpose of measuring land, various poles of different lengths were used. Inscriptions of the period often refer to poles of 14, 27, 33, 35 spans[3] which were used to measure the land. In addition to these, units like *mattar*, *kamba*, *salage*, *vali* and *guli* were used in

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 216; XIV, p. 277; *Ep. carn.*, V, Bl. 86; Cn 228 etc.,

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Ci. 52; VI. Kd 96; *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 121; XII, p. 331.

connection with land measurement.[4] It is interesting to note that the term *salage* was used in connection with wet land, *vali* in the case of dry land and *guli* in the case of garden land. Those differences were due to local variations and different measurig poles were used in different parts of the country.[5]

Lands were not only surveyed, but also boundaries were marked for the purpose of assessment. According to an inscription from Mysore district, dated 1290 A.D.,[6] certain fee was also charged for boundary-marking. Moreover, inscriptions, recording grants of land, occasionally define the boundaries of the land that was so granted.[7] Thus we may conclude that the cultivated lands were generally divided into small plots being demarcated with well defined boundaries.

Records of the period refer to boundary disputes that arose between two parties or villages, resulting, in some cases, even in deaths of persons involved. Thus an undated Hoysala record[8] refers to the death of Madagaunda in a fight for the boundary of the village Bayalahalli during the reign of Vira-Narasimhadeva.

Another inscription of 1190 A.D. from Chikmagalur shows how disputes relating to boundaries of land were settled in those days. The record[9] states that the inhabitants of Indavara fought with the inhabitants of Uppavalli on account of a field boundary and Chanda-gavunda was among those who fought and died. Thereupon the men of nine *nadus* including Dakana-heggade of Kenegil assembled, and examined the boundaries and decided that the people of Uppavalli had no claims on land from the tank upwards, while from the natural outlet of the tank and from the stream of Konchala westwards upto Uppavalli they had claim to some land (not specified). They also decided that gold should be paid as compensation by the people of Indavara for the death of some men of Uppavalli.

It is difficult, however, to ascertain exactly the incidence of taxation on land during the period. *Smritis* indeed lay down no unifrom rate of taxation on land and the percentage they recommend varies from 8 to 33.[10] Kautilya recommends 22 to about 33 per cent of the produce as the land tax, whereas according to Sukra it varied between 25 to 50 per cent. This variation was either partly due to the quality of the land in question, or to the varying practices and the different rates charged at different times to meet the varying needs

[4] *Ep. Carn.*, Bl. 71; *MAR.*, 1938, No. 38, p. 166; 1943, No. 29, pp. 91–93.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 208; *MAR.*, 1916, p. 50, para 79 etc.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Tn 27.

[7] *Ibid.*, V, Bl 175, 193, 140 etc.

[8] *MAR.*, 1936, No. 54, p. 66.

[9] *Ibid.*, 1932, No. 12, p. 168.

[10] Altekar, *State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 196.

of the government. The normal procedure was, however, to charge 1/6 of the produce as the land tax.[11]

The same principle was probably followed during this period. An inscription from Kolar district, dated 1072 A.D.,[12] reveals that 1/5 of the produce of forest tracts and of lands on which dry crops were raised and 1/3 of the produce of land below a tank on which paddy was grown were to be paid as land tax. It seems probable that the assessment of land tax was made on the gross produce of the land.

Land tax was collected both in kind and cash.[13] Some inscriptions of the period refer to the tax on land to be paid by cash. A record from Bangalore, dated 1253 A.D.,[14] for instance, shows that land tax of 70 shares was 140 *gadyanas*, i.e.. 2 *gadyanas* on each share; for shares were generally divided almost equally. Another inscription of 1188 A.D.[15] states that land tax derived from the whole village was 400 *gadyanas*. But the incidence of taxation on land cannot be exactly known as the acreage under cultivation is not given.

In addition to land tax proper, various taxes such as *katte*, *kaluve*, *kere*[16] and *nirkuli*,[17] river tax[18] and sluice tax[19] were to be paid by a peasant. But these were the demands on the land collected on the authority of government, the proceeds of which were mostly utilized for maintaining irrigational works such as tanks and canals and were note likely to reach the central government.[20]

From inscriptions it appears that there was a permanent settlement of the land tax. We come across a term '*siddhaya*' in epigraphs of the period.[21] *Siddhaya* may be taken to mean 'fixed tax'. It seems not unlikely, however, that reassessment was made whenever found necessary.[22]

The Agrarian policy of the Hoysalas was not merely confined to assessment and collection of land tax. The Hoysalas seem to have bestowed careful attention to the question of land administration and adopted certain definite methods of improving agriculture.

One of the methods of improving agriculture was to provide

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11 Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 163; Altekar, *op.cit.*, p. 196.

12 *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mb 499.

13 *Ibid.*, V, Bl 89; *MAR.*, 1923, No. 1, p. 36.

14 *Ibid* , IX, Bn. 6.

15 *MAR.*, 1923, No. 1, p. 36.

16 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng. 39.

17 *Ibid.*, Ch. 84.

18 *Ibid.*, Sr. 154.

19 *MAR.*, 1938, No. 42, pp. 170–171, 1175 A.D.

20 *Ep. Carn.*, III, Pt. I, Sr. 54, 1160 A.D.

21 *Ibid.*, V, El. 77, 140 etc.

22 *MAR.*, 1923, No. 1, p. 36.

good irrigation facilities. The Hoysalas bestowed careful attention on the construction and maintenance of irrigation works. Building of a tank, a *satra* and watershed, like the creation of *agraharas*, was considered an act of religious merit.[23] An epigraph of 1062 A.D., records that king Vinayaditya constructed sluice for the tank at Dorasamudra.[25] The Belur inscription dated 1186 A.D.[26] records that the great minister Virayya-dandanayaka, for the prosperity of the kingdom, caused to be excavated four tanks, namely, Dorasamudra, Gangasamudra, Achyutasamudra and Virasamudra. Besides the kings, officials[27] and individuals[28] and institutions such as the village assembly and the temple also shared in this work of construction of irrigation works.[29] Private undertakings were often encouraged by grants of land[30] and exemption from taxes.[31]

Proper attention was given for the maintenance of irrigation works which involved repairs to damaged tanks, removal of silt and prevention of damage. *Umbali*, *Kere-kodige*, *Kattu-kodige* and *Bittu-vatta* grants were made specially for individuals who built tanks and maintained irrigation works.[32] The source of finance for maintenance often come from charity, temples' contribution, state's help[33] and income from the irrigation works in the form of water tax.[34] Grants were often made for the maintenance of cart for the tank and for cart-driver.[35]

Distribution of water was given due attention to by the people as well as the State and the right to water supply was zealously guarded. Inscriptions often refer to disputes for water between two parties or villages. Thus a record from Hassan district[36] of about 1080 A.D., for instance, states that Karikanna fell while fighting for water at the pond. The tax was divided so that the water might be equal to both sides. But in many cases, they used to arrive at amicable settlements and such disputes were avoided by the villagers of one village purchasing the right of taking water for

[23] *Ep. Carn.*, Kd. 36, 1203 A.D.

[24] *MAR.*, 1929, No. 12, p. 73 ; *Ibid.*, 1937, p. 181.

[25] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Pt. I, Sr, 54, 1160 A.D.

[26] *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 175.

[27] *MAR.*, 1913. para 85 ; *Ep. Carn.*, Kd. 161, 1063 A.D.

[28] *MAR.*, 1908, p. 8, para 35 ; *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Kd. 161.

[29] *Ep. Carn.*, XII, p. 2.

[30] *Ibid.*, III, Md. 44 ; XII, Tm. 27, 28 etc.

[31] *Ibid.*, IX, An. 80 ; VI, Cm. 15, etc.

[32] *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 40 ; VI, Tk. 24 ; *MAR.*, 1911, p. 47, para 104 ; 1928, No. 19, p. 39 ; 1920, para 77, p. 34 ; 1940, No. 9, p. 123.

[33] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Pt. I, Sr. 54.

[34] *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 229.

[35] *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 116, 1234 A.D. ; *Ibid.*, IV, Ng. 39.

[36] *Ibid.*, V, Hn. 34.

irrigation through the sluice of the tank (in the other village) by paying some money.[37]

Another important aspect of Hoysala agrarian policy was the reclamation of waste lands. From a study of the inscriptions[38] it is found that the Hoysala kings encouraged a policy of progressive reclamation of land, by offering inducements by way of exemption from taxes. Not only the purpose but also the very procedure of bringing a vast area under cultivation formed an important part of Hoysala agrarian policy. This policy led to increase of the Hoysala land revenues

Whenever there was any pressure of population, the state[39] as well as private persons[40] built new villages by cutting down forests and constructing tanks and temples. An epigraph[41] dated1096 A.D., for instance, states that Bhasagauda, while holding the office of *nalgauda* under Vinayaditya, built a village Ranakiya-katta and constructed a tank called Balligeri, brought under cultivation a field named Edarkava, and erected a temple named Bachesvara. Another Hoysala record of A.D. 1232[41] informs us that several *gaudas* (named) founded a village called Banakihalli and also consrtucted a tank and a temple at the village.

The government offered inducements by way of granting land and exemption from taxation for a specified period to cultivators of lands thus reclaimed. Thus an inscription of A.D. 1186 reveals the fact that the minister, *sarvadhikari* Virayya-dandanayaka founded the village Viraballalapura after cutting down the forests and constructed there several tanks. And to those who cut down the forests, he granted lands free of all taxes for a period of 12 years and 10 *salage* of rice-lands rent-free. In order to induce farmers to cultivate such lands, assessment was made on a graded scale.[43]

The study of agraian system also involves a discussion of ownro ship, alienation and tenures in land. Inscriptions of the period throw some light on these problems. The power to alienate land by individuals characterises private ownership. Inscriptions reveal that such alienation may take the form of sale, mortgage or gift.[44]

The king had to purchase land, which was already in private ownership, if he wanted to donate the same to a donee. An inscription of A.D. 1024[45] from Manjarabad refers to an instance where 300

37 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng. 49.
38 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 137, 175; X, Bn 133.
39 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 175; Bn. 233, etc.
40 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 137.
41 *MAR.*, 1926, No. 7, p. 40.
42 *Ibid.*, 1941, No. 26, p. 177.
43 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng. 39.
44 *Ibid.*, V, Bl. 182, etc.
45 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp. 84,

Kulis of land were sold after receiving the money from the king. Such instances[46] show that kings were expected to respect and safeguard the sanctity of private property in land.

This does not, however, mean that kings had no lands of their own. Inscriptions reveal that kings and governors granted many lands as well as villages tax-free. A Hoysala inscription dated 1189 A.D.[47] records that the king Viraballala granted to the learned men 202 *vrittis* into which the lands of the Neralige *agrahara* were divided. It is clearly stated that the revenue of 1000 *gadyanas*, derived from that village, should thereafter be paid to those *vritti* holders. In this case, evidently, the king's right over the revenue of that village was virtually granted to the donees. Besides, waste lands awaiting cultivation, forest tracts and also unoccupied estates did belong to the State and were often granted to the donees.[48]

The practice of granting lands in lieu of services rendered by individulas in various capacities was common during the Hoysala period. Such a practice was probably due to the abundance of land and the relative scarcity of money. The study of land grants of this nature reveals the structure and composition of the donees who received land grants, whom we may call as landed gentry. The village servants, potters, carpenters, washermen, goldsmiths, barbers and so on were usually remunerated by grant of lands.[49] In temples too, servants were assigned lands in lieu of salary for their services. So were, for instance, the readers of *puranas*, priests, dancing girls, drummers, cowherds and actors and others assigned lands, the income from which they could enjoy.[50] Lands were often granted as *umbali* (rent- free land) to individuals for having built tanks, townships and as pay for the office of *gauda* or headman etc.[51] *Kere-kodige*, *kattu-kodige* and *bittu-vatta* were made specially for individuals who built tanks or who maintained irrigation works.[52] *Nettaru-godige*, *Rakta-kodige*, *Veera-kodige*, *Kalanadu*, *balgachu* grants were made to the family of heroes who fought bravely in the battle-field and died or gave up their lives in an attempt to rescue cows and women of their villages from the hands of robbers.[53] The above land grants may be classified as service tenures.

It was the belief during this period that by giving gifts one

46 *Ibid.*, V, Mj. 18; *Ibid.*, VII, Sb. 262 etc.

47 *MAR.*, 1923, No. 1, p. 36.

48 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Bl. 175.

49 *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 244; *MAR.*, 1917, p. 46, para 102; *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Ck. 2, etc.

50 *MAR.*, 1915, p. 48, para 72.

51 *Ep. Carn.*, V, Ak. 40, 1209 A.D.; VI, Tk. 54.

52 *MAR.*, 1911, p. 47, para 104; 1928, No. 19, p. 39 (1227 A.D.); 1920, p. 34, para 77; 1940, p. 123, No. 9, 1180 A.D.

53 *MAR.*, 1928, No. 19, p. 39; *Ep. Carn.*, V, Cn. 205; VI, Cm. 157-58, *MAR.*, 1931, No. 74, p. 190; B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 171.

could gain religious merit and obtain heaven. Such grants of land created *Mathas*, temples and Brahmanas into a class of landed aristocracy. Generally, the donees under this category did not render any material service in lieu of land grants. *Brahmadeya*, *Devadana* and *Mathapura* were such grants. The *Brahmadaya* simply meant a gift of land made to a Brahmana or to a body of Brahmanas. Such grants were also known as *Brahmana-vritti* or *bhatta-vritti*. Brahmanas, in recognition of their scholarship or to impart instruction in religious or secular studies, received these grants. *Devadana* were gifts of lands to temple gods and goddesses for their daily worship and occasional festivals.[54] Lands were also granted for the maintenance of the *Mathas* and as such were called *Mathapura* lands.[55] The above land grants may be classified as beneficiary tenures.

The Hoysalas wielded much power and wealth during the heyday of their period. The impressive architectural remains at Belur, Halebid and Somanathapur testify to their wealth and power. The source of this wealth and power was derived from land. Hence they promoted agriculture. The Hoysala kings encouraged a policy of reclamation of land whenever and wherever necessary. This policy led to increase of the Hoysala land revenue, the assessment and collection of which was based on scientific principles. Successful schemes were executed to mitigate hardships on account of insufficient water supply by constructing tanks, digging canals and making sluices and embankments.[56] All this is a proof of the attention bestowed by the Hoysala kings on the improvements of agriculture throughout their country. In addition to kings, individuals and village assemblies promoted agriculture. Thus the Hoysala period witnessed the growth and expansion of agriculture, on which depended the prosperity and stability of the Hoysala kingdom.

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[54] *MAR.*, 1915, p. 47, para 96; 1920, p. 34, para 76, 1272 A.D.

[55] *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 35, para 85.

[56] *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng. 70; V, Ak. 22; V, Hn. 107; Kd. 161; Cm. 73.

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Agriculture During the Ganga Period

SHIVANNA AND G. R. RANGASWAMIAH

THE Gangas of Talakad (c. 350-1004 A.D.) gave a sound administration to the country ensuring peace and prosperity by means of promoting agriculture, trade and commerce. The financial stability of the state depended much upon agriculture which was the mainstay of the society. The Ganga rulers evinced great interest in the agricultural activities of their subjects. As a result, agricultural output increased several fold which in turn brought prosperity to the society to designate the Ganga kingdom as '*Siri Rajya*' or the prosperous kingdom. The state encouraged agriculture by constructing irrigational works, making provision for the distribution of water, and by bringing virgin land under cultivation. In this paper an attempt is made to study the different aspects of agriculture such as the crops raised, the classification of land on the basis of fertility, the ownership, the various types of irrigational facilities provided by the state and private people, the livestock and the measures.

The lands were mainly classified into three kinds[1] namely dry-land (*beddalu*) wetland (*gadde*) and garden (*tonta*). It would be interesting to note in connection with the classification of land a grant of the period of Rachamalla II which refers to a gift of land of two kinds.[2] One Ereyamma granted to the god Eregangesvara two *khandugas* of *nirmannu* and two *khandugas* of *maduvinamannu*. *Nirmannu* constitutes the dry land which depends on rains and *maduvinamannu* includes the wet land and garden.

In theory, all the lands belonged to the king either by virtue of hereditary rights or by conquests. But, in practice, he had nothing to do with the lands so long as land revenue was regularly paid to him. The owner of the land could either mortgage or sell away his lands.[3] Individual holdings of land was a common feature. Apart from individual holdings there were also other holdings. Some lands were granted as *umbali* which were enjoyed by hereditary

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1 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng. 85; X, Kl. 229, Gd. 47.

2 *MAR.*, 1938, I, 67, p. 67.

3 *Journal of Historical Studies*, Vol. II, p. 34.

rights.[4] There are references to *sarvamanya* land-grants wherein the government relinquished all rights.[5] To encourage learning and literature lands were granted to Brahmins. These grants were known as *vidyadana*.[6] Grants were also made to Brahmins who were experts in conducting sacrifices and ceremonies. They were called the *brahmadeya*.[7] The grants made to temples were styled as *devabhoga*[8] (temple endowments). Inscriptions also refer to the grant of villages.[9] A village or group of villages granted to the Brahmins was known as *agrahara*. Usually, a number of individuals held land in these *agraharas* as *vritti*. The grants of land made to gods, Brahmins and temples and other charitable institutions were made often on a permanent basis and sometimes for definite periods, free of all taxes.

Inscriptions refer to the grant of land as *bittuvatta* to persons who either constructed or repaired a tank. During the time of Marasimha, *Dandanayaka* Bikkeya allowed the land of a sowing capacity of four *khandugas* as *bittuvatta* for the upkeep of the two tanks, Piriyakere and Devigere at Karya in Nanjangud Taluk.[10] Land was granted for the support of the family of a man who had fallen in battle or had been otherwise killed in public service. The grants of land made to the family of the man who fell on the battlefield while fighting were styled as *balgalchu* or *Kalnad*, *Nettarpatti* and *Nettapadi*.[11]

During the Ganga period all lands were measured systematically with the help of poles of different sizes. Many inscriptions refer to *Bherunda* pole, the Ganga pole, the *Margundi* pole, the *Kachachavi* pole, the *Ottola* pole and the God's pole.[12] The *Danda* or the staff of the royal *varisaikkol* was used for the measurement of wet land. The pole of 18 spans[13] each of 12 fingers' breadth called *Manadanda* as well as poles of thirty steps and forty-eight steps were also used.[14] Iron rod or chain of definite measurement (*salaka*) was also employed for land measurement. But the exact length of the rod used is not forthcoming. The terms *veli*, *kuli*, *kamma* and *mattar* were also employed to denote the area of the land.[15] The grain measurements were *solage*, *balla*, *kolaga*, *tumbu*, *khanduga*, *kula*,

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[4] *Ep. Carn.*, X, Gd. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, IX, Cp. 94, 97.

[6] *Ibid.*, V, Ag. 24; VI, Tk. 55.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, I. 24, p. 336.

[8] *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Bn. 40.

[9] *MAR.*, 1919, p. 29, para 67.

[10] *Ep. Carn.*, III, Nj. 192.

[11] *MAR.*, 1910 p. 23, p. 52; *Ep. Carn.*, III, Tn. 91.

[12] *Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. 120; VI, Tk. 45; VII, Sk. 118; VIII, Sb. 317; VII, Ci, 64, Sk. 18.

[13] *Ibid.*, X, Mb. 49.

[14] *Ibid.*, V, Ak. 12, 13.

[15] *Ibid.*, X, Kl. 131; VI, Cm. 133; *MAR.*, 1920, I, 70.

kudaba and *kodi*.[16] The above units were also employed as land measurements on the basis of the quantity of seeds required for sowing. According to Buchanan, in 1800 A.D., five *kolagas* of rice land would be equal to one and a quarter of an acre, and five *kolagas* of dry land to three and a quarter of an acre.[17]

The need for maintaining proper boundary marks to avoid probable disputes was keenly felt from early times. In those days trees, tanks, rivers, roads, wells, mountains, canals and other natural objects formed the boundaries of the land. Stones were also erected to mark the boundary lines. An inscription of the time of Sivamara explains how the rulers were very particular in marking the boundary lines of the villages as well. Sivamara after having granted a village named Suradevapura to 24 Brahmins as an *agrahara* ordered that the boundaries of that *agrahara* should be properly marked with sixteen stones bearing the sign of *Vamana* or Dwarf incarnation.[18]

The epigraphical sources do not reveal any definite information about the land tax of this period. According to the time honoured custom one sixth of the gross produce of the land appears to have been the share of the government of the Gangas also. It is significant to note that one of the grants refers to terms like *pattondi* (1/10) and *aydondi* (1/5).[19] It may be interpreted that 1/5 of the gross produce was levied on wet land and 1/10 on dry land, although this was not the uniform system of taxation. The land revenue was paid both in cash and in kind. One of the inscriptions of this period states that the income of the village was 20 *gadyanas* in cash and 12 *khandugas* in grain.[20] There was confiscation of lands in default of payment of taxes.[21]

The major crops that were grown were paddy, maize, millet and oil seeds. The important garden crops were sugar cane, betel leaves, arecanut, plantains, mangoes, coconut and pepper which were the chief commercial crops also.

In the places where there was a regular supply of water the farmers raised two crops in the year, one in autumn and the second in summer. In the dry lands only one crop was raised in autumn.[22]

Plough is mentioned very often in inscriptions whereas the other implements are not referred to.[23] Livestock formed an important part of the wealth of the people. Inscriptions frequently

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16 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch. 95; X. Kl. 90; X, Kl. 231; *MAR.*, 1921, p. 24 and 53; *Ep. Carn.*, II. Sb. 14; XVI, Pq. 13.

17 *Travels of Buchanan*, Vol. 2, p. 520.

18 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Bn. 44.

19 *MAR.*, 1926, p. 87, I, 100.

20 *Ibid.*, 1921, p. 24, p. 53.

21 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Ht. III; IX, An. 80; IX, Cp. 94, 95, 97.

22 *Ibid.*, XVI, Tm. 78.

23 *Ibid.*, IV, Gn. 79.

mention cow, buffalo, bullock and sheep.[24] Bullock was not only used for ploughing land but also for drawing carts. The cow, besides being an important source of wealth, was highly venerated. The chief of cowherds was called *Gotterava*.[25] Cattle rearing and sheep breeding was carried on an extensive scale. A tax called *kurumbadere* was levied on shepherds.[26] The head of the shepherds was called *kurumba-gauda*. An inscription of this period also refers to *Kuripatti*, a part of the village where the sheep-folk were located.[27] There is also reference to the grazing lands, called *adavu*, in the inscriptions of this period. A *yantrakal* or *go-kal* was set up at the entrance of the village. This was intended for curing the diseases of the cattle by its magic spell.[28]

Irrigation received due attention during this period. A number of inscriptions refer to the irrigational works undertaken. Noteworthy is the fact that both the state and the private individuals gave encouragement to agriculture by constructing innumerable tanks, wells, dams and canals. Construction of tanks was considered an act of Dharma (benevolence). Sometimes tanks were built to commemorate an important event, or to honour the death of a notable person or in recognition of the heroic deeds of the citizens. A record of the time of Sripurusha mentions the construction of a tank 'Konganikere' at Purigali in Boppagaudana-hobli in Mandya district, by Chavuttur of Attigala, and granted to the *bovas* (palanquin bearers) in appreciation of their heroism displayed in defending their village during a fight.[29] On the death of Nitimarga I, a tank was constructed in his honour by Nagayya son of Madhavayya.[30] The merchants and their families made liberal donations for the building of tanks. Paramesvaradeva-setti's consort named Akaleti profusely donated money for the construction of a tank in her name, as Akalesamudra.[31] In order to draw water from the tanks to distant fields, a net work of canals was undertaken. There are many inscriptional evidences to show the construction of channels from tanks. A big channel was constructed under the lower bank of Bali tank at Dodda-homma in Nanjangud Taluk.[32] A greater part of the Ganga kingdom was watered by the river Cauvery. But, unfortunately, we are not in a position to know how the water of Cauvery was utilised for the purpose of irrigation,

24 *Ep. Carn.*, VIII, p. 19, II, 40; *MAR.*, 1926, I, 100, p. 87.
25 *MAR.*, 1926, I, 100, p 87.
26 *Ibid.*, 1933, I, 38, p. 237.
27 *Ibid.*
28 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 39, p. 86.
29 *Ibid.*, 1947, 56, I, 40, p. 123.
30 *Ibid.*, 1910, p. 26.
31 *Ep. Carn.*, XVI, p. 12.
32 *Ibid.*, III, Nj. 183.

although we can safely surmise that canals might have been dug during this period. An inscription of the period of Sripurusha states that the governor Chottamma of Edatorenad arranged for the supply of one foot of water during nine days of the moon light and three days of the darkness.[33] Aparently, it shows that there was a dam constructed to regulate the supply of water from the river.

Maintenance of such irrigational works was also undertaken with great enthusiasm. An inscription of the time of Rachamalla III mentions that with the permission of Manalera a grant was made by *pergade* Sankayya and others for the repair of the tank.[34]

A record of Nitimarga II, dated 933 A.D., mentions that Manchayya and the twenty-five of Mahanagara of Talkad donated money for the repair of the tank.

The Ganga rulers granted various concessions, distributed grains and seeds and often remitted the dues which the farmers owed to the state. An inscription of the time of Sripurusha states that a general concession called '*Karalme*' was granted to the people of Bisiguru in Kunigalnad.[35] Another inscription of Chamarajanagar Taluk states that the governor of Sivayyanakere remitted the payment on account of seed for sowing.[36]

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[33] *Ep. Carn.*, III, My. 55.

[34] *MAR.*, 1909, p. 16, para 66.

[35] (Reference not given).

[36] *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ch. 141.

Temples of Barakuru

P. GURURAJA BHAT

HISTORIC Barakuru abounds in temple structures. Most of them are in ruins now. The temple building activities must have started by about the 8th century A.D., and continued up to the 17th century A.D. Each community had its own temple dedicated to the presiding deity of the community, while there were temples common for all. While it is possible to surmise that there may have been as many as 365 temples, major and minor, a student of history and architecure is comfronted with problems of chronology. None of these. temples has records of installation. At best inscriptions speak of grants and gifts made to them by Government and philonthropists and by men of religion. Therefore, we can only be approximate in dating these monuments. Many of these structures bear indications of subsequent renovation. This fact presents additional difficulties regarding chronology. But a study of icons in these temples may throw a flood of light on this knotty problem. Based on the study of architectural and sculptural features and available epigraphical records, the following chronology may be drawn up in respect of the monuments of Barakuru.

1. **The Panchalingesvara temple, Kotekeri** (circa 8th century A.D.) :

This is one of the major temples of the District of South Kanara This temple presents three distinct stages of development (i) Chalukyan (ii) Hoysala and (iii) Vijayanagara. The apsidal *garbhagriha* and the four pillars in the *navaranga* are definitely Chalukyan and cannot be later than the 8th century A.D. The two icons of Brahmachari Skanda and Aditya in this temple are remarkable pieces of early sculpture, dating back to the 10th century A.D.

2. **Batte Vinayaka temple of Kotekeri** (circa 9th-10th century A.D.) :

To the South-east of the Panchalingesvara temple, at stone's throw is the Batte Vinayaka temple, an unpretentious, small shrine. The image of Vinayaka here is two-handed and is a robust representation of the Elephant-faced god.

3. **The Somanatha temple of Mudukeri** (circa 10th century A.D.) :

This is entirely renovated now, but its original structure may

be of the 10th century A.D., since the first available epigraph making reference to this temple is ascribable to the 12th century A.D. The *balidevata* of this temple is a fine bronze of the Chola period. This may be regarded as one of the major monuments of the District. Here also we find the accretions of the Vijayanagara period. The images of Sarasvati and Janardana, kept in the *navaranga* of this temple, are definitely pre-Hoysala and are good specimens of the kind.

4. The Venugopalakrishna shrine of Kotekeri (circa 11th century A.D.) :

This is a small single-celled structure, entirely renovated now; but the image of Venugopalakrishna enshrined here is one of the masterpieces of this kind in Karnataka; the sculpture is typically Chalukyan and is 4½′ in height. The reliefs of Vishnu's *dasavatara* are delicately carved on the *prabhavali* and the cows and cow-herds are depicted as hearing the eternal music of the Lord in a bewitching manner. Indeed, this image carved out of black stone is a remarkable sculpture which possesses enchanting beauty without ostentation.

5. The Siddhesvara temple, Manigarakeri (circa 11th century A.D.) :

Although this monument is in a most dilapidated condition it is suggestive of the Chalukyan type as indicated by the Bhairava and the Mahishasuramardini icons, the latter being totally corrogated. The Ganapati image here is of the Vijayanagara times.

6. The Mahishasura temple, Barakuru :

This is a plain structure and there is nothing to show that it could be ancient. But the sculpture of Jaina Brahma (worshipped as Mahishasura) is a Chalukyan masterpiece. There is a curious stone image with the head and front legs of buffalo and back and hind legs of man which is not easily datable but may be of the 11th or the 12th century A.D.

7. The Virabhadra shrine of Patasalikeri (circa 12th-13th century A.D.) :

This temple is partially in ruins and partially repaired. Its extension has fallen totally. But the Virabhadra image of about 5′ in height, carved out of black stone, is an enchanting figure with bold and elegant demeanour. The sculpture is in action; and it may be ascribed to the transition style of the Chalukya and the Hoysala periods. This icon may be regarded as the best of its kind in the District judged from the standpoints of beauty, proportion, anatomy and vigour.

8. The Twin temples of Chaulikeri (circa 14th century A.D.) :

There are two temples in Chaulikeri popularly known as the

Ganapati temple. These are dedicated to Lord Siva and Lord Ganesa. Both the structures are almost identical and are of equal importance. The structural style is undoubtedly Vijayanagara, but the icon of Ganapati in the Ganapati shrine is not merely peculiar but also is suggestive of an early phase of Ganesa evolution in sculpture. The image is two handed and is depicted in the common style of Ganesa representation but the proboscis is short and abruptly stops at the mouth giving the appearance of Varaha. *Modaka* and *vajra* are held in the two hands 15″ in height and crude in carving. This icon may be ascribed to the 8th century A.D. It is said that it was got from the tank nearby from which it was salvaged. The pillared hall in front of this monument with sloping roof consisting of granite stone slabs has a remarkable appearance and has attracted the attention of archaeologists.

9. The Kalikamba temple (circa 14th century A.D.) :

There is nothing that can claim particularity to this monument except the *mulasthana* icon of Kalikamba. It is an exceedingly beautiful figure about $2\frac{1}{4}'$ in height and is a classic representation of Vijayanagara sculpture. The most striking feature of this figure is the relief of three camels in the pedestal.

10. The Venugopalakrishna shrine of Mudukeri (circa 11th century A.D.):

To the northern side of Mudukeri tank is a small shrine dedicated to Venugopalakrishna. The image of Krishna is undoubtedly charming. Severe restraint in details of carving and total immersion in music are the two characteristics of this icon. It is assignable to the beginning of the Vijayanagara period.

11. The Nagara Matha Keshava temple (circa 14th century A.D.) :

This shrine is in complete ruins except the beautiful Keshava icon of 4′ in height. Although the image bears certain stylistic characteristics of the Chalukya period, it is only assignable to the Vijayanagara period.

12. The Ganapati shrine of Mudukeri (circa 13th-14th centuries A.D.) :

Here is an image of Ganesa kept in a small shrine of little architectural significance, which could be regarded as one of the most sumptuous of the Ganesa icons of South Kanara. *Kuthara*, *pasa*, *phala* and *danta* are the attributes. The proboscis takes a sudden turn from the mouth.

Special mention must be made of some of the bronzes at Barakuru. They give us unmistakable clues to chronology. The Ganesa icon of the Ganapati temple, Chaulikeri (c. 10th century A.D.), the Kesava image of the Panchalingesvara temple, Kotekeri

(c. 11th century A.D.), the two handed *Balamuri Ganesa* at the Somanatha temple, Mudukeri (c. 10th century A.D.) and the two Sadasiva icons at the same temple (c. 10th-11th century A.D.,) are good specimens of Chola bronzes. Although they are small in size their iconographic features are worthy of note.

Mention may also be made of the Srinivasa image in a ruined temple at Kotekeri, the Chandesvari image in a very small shrine at Chaulikeri, the Chitpi Anjaneya image in front of the Panchalingesvara temple, Kotekeri, the Ili-Ganapati on way to Chaulikeri and of the Ganesa icon in Hosakeri, all of which belong to the Vijayanagara times. The hardly known Nakharesvara temple at Mudukeri may be of 12th century A.D. Likewise the shrines of Narayana and of Vasudeva (the mutilated image is in the M. G. M. College Archaeological Museum) on either side of the Mudukeri tank may be of the 12th-13th century A.D.

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Was Purandaradasa the Precursor of Karnataka Music

B. V. K. SASTRY

ON the eve of the quatercentenary celebrations of Purandaradasa, the *Tainadu* of Bangalore published an article entitled "Purandaradasa from the viewpoint of research scholars". This article by Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri came as a shock to the faithful who were content with the time honoured beliefs and myths about the master. Naturally the article invited protests and also recriminations from them in which there was of course more heat than light.

But some of the points raised by Dr. Sastri have not drawn satisfactory explanations till now. Like many of our ancients the material available about the life and works of Purandaradasa is a mixture of myth and legend that does not stand the test of a scientific inquiry. And in the very area he is said to have spent a great part of his life the information forthcoming is not of much value either to get an idea of his person or to have a clear perspective of his activities.

Dr. Srikantha Sastri's queries covered almost all the aspects of Purandaradasa preserved more through popular belief than material evidence. However earnest efforts have also been made by some authors to examine these beliefs and set the record straight, on the strength of facts gathered by them, in the voluminous literature produced during the quatercentenary celebrations. Some of these scholars have objectively examined such long standing beliefs concerning the birth place, the popular incidents in his life, the claim that Purandaradasa composed 4,75,000 songs during his life time and others. They have attempted to throw some light on these subjects.

In this context special mention must be made of the following: 1. Article by Dr. P. B. Desai on Purandaradasa with reference to the Kamalapur plates in the *Journal of the Karnatak University*; 2. *Karnataka Haridasa-parampare* by Sri Kaptral Krishna Rao in *Prabhuddha Karnataka* (No. 179); 3. *Suladis and Ugabhogas* by Prof. R. Satyanarayana in *Purandaradasara Sahitya*, Vol. 4 published by All Karnataka Sri Purandaradasa quatercentenary celebrations committee, Dharwar.

Since other aspects of the life and person of Purandaradasa have

been dealt writ by some of the above scholars I confine myself to his association with music.

Purandaradasa has been revered as the '*Karnataka Sangita Pitamaha*' or the precursor of the Karnataka music of today. According to popular belief he devised preliminary exercises in music like *Sarale, Alankara* etc., set them in *Mayamalavagoula—raga* to be easily grasped by the beginners, enriched Karnatak music by composing 4,75,000 songs (*Geeta, Pada, Suladi, Ugabhogas* etc.,) and was responsible for the development of the present form of the Karnatak music and Tyagaraja was heavily influenced by him. There are also other claims untenable for an objective evaluation.

As a seasoned and conscientious scholar Dr. Sastri rightly questioned the basis for these beliefs. He even went to the extent of questioning whether Purandaradasa was as learned in music as it was being claimed; if so, who was his preceptor, whether he wrote any treatise, and why his name, except for the reference in the *Annamacharya Charithamu* of Chinna Tirumala, does not occur anywhere in the literature, inscriptions and other records of his times.

It is true this aspect of Purandaradasa has not received as much attention as his spiritual thoughts, the literary merits of his songs, their sentiments and messages etc. about which we have voluminous literature. May be his spiritual heirs were more concerned with the hereafters, the path for salvation than with bothering themselves about such mundane matters as the musicianship of Purandaradasa or the musical merits of his songs. For those who area ware of the historical process of development of Indian music, these claims seem to be untenable. The solfeggio passages called as *Alankaras* are described even from the days of Patanga atleast 1000 years before Purandaradasa. And the raga bearing the full nomenclature of *Mayamalavagou'a* is heard only from the 18th century, long after the passing away of Purandaradasa. The ancient name for this raga was *Malavagoula*. Regarding the *Gita* and other compositions, a reference to ancient texts on music is enough to convince that such compositions in Sanskrit and the regional languages were in use from a long time. And Sripadaraja and Vyasaraja (*guru* of Purandaradasa) composed *Suladis* and *Ugabhogas* even earlier. The dubious nature of the song and the claim that he composed 4,75,000 songs has been discussed in fair detail in the preface of Vol. VI of *Sri Purandara Sahitya*, published by the Purandaradasa quatercentenary celebrations committee, Dharwar.

Notwithstanding these facts a strong belief that Purandaradasa was instrumental in the moulding of the Karnatak music of today persists not only in Karnataka but in all the areas where this system of music prevails. Even though many other members of the *Haridasa-kuta* composed innumerable *pada, suladi*, etc., some of

them with even better literary merits, it is only Purandaradasa who is revered as the '*Pitamaha*' in the sphere of Karnatak music.

It is against this background, we have to examine the contribution of Purandaradasa to Karnatak music. This work is difficult because as a nation we lack a historical sense equating myths and legends with history. This is clearly evident from the innumerable *sthalapuranas* of almost all the towns and villages in the land which attribute their origin to some ancient *rishi* or puranic heroes. The tenable material, if any, should forthcome by accident like an inscription or references in the literature produced at that place. This habit of investing great men with divinity still persists with the result we are rewarded more often with rumours than facts about many persons who lived till recently. Even the biographical material about Tyagaraja who lived barely 150 years ago is adulterated with myths and miracles. And it is no wonder if the facts about Purandaradasa who lived at least 300 years before have lost all verity, embroidered by the spiritual successors and buried under mounds of myth and superstition.

Consequently any objective assessment of his contribution to or influence on Karnatak music is difficult to make. We have to examine all the available material, pick up a piece here and there and construct a mosaic of the musical personality of Purandaradasa. The material available is little and more often unreliable. Apart from the ageold belief alluding to him as the *pitamaha* of Karnatak music some tangible material is found in his songs and also in references to him in old musical literature.

There is sufficient reference in the songs of Purandaradasa to testify to his good knowledge of music. These references to musical forms, *ragas, talas,* instruments etc. are spread over nearly 30 songs. They refer to *svara*, numerous *ragas* by name, *murchanas, jathis, prabandha, gita* and a large number of instruments and above all the qualifications of an ideal musician. And it is notable that such profuse references to different elements of music are not found in the songs of other Haridasas. We may not know who was the *Sangita-guru* of Purandaradasa. But it is certain he was well versed in the art which he used as a medium for leading people on the path of righteous living and god.

Adverting to Purandaradasa in literature, the earliest reference occurs in the *Annamacharya charithamu* by Chinna Tirumala, which indicates that he was a younger contemporary of Annamacharya. In the invocatory verses of his Opera, *Prahlada Bhakti Vijaya*. Tyagaraja salutes Purandaradasa. But here he is not revered as the *Sangita Pitamaha,* but as one among the great Bhaktas like Prahlada, Narada, Jayadeva. Another reference to Purandaradasa is found in the *Guru Charitra* of Walajapet Venkataramana Bhagavatar about his

guru Tyagaraja. It is stated there that Tyagaraja invariably sang the songs of Sri Purandaradasa-swamigal, Ramadasa-swamigal, Annamacharyar and Venkata Vithalar in his daily *Bhajana*. By this it is evident that apart from revering him as one of the ancient saints of *Bhakti-sampradaya*, Tyagaraja also knew and sang the compositions of Purandaradasa. The fact that he was also influenced by that music finds some support from the two manuscripts of the songs of Purandaradasa found in the library of Tyagaraja and now preserved at the Sourashtra Sabha at Madura.

But the most important reference to Purandaradasa is found in the *Sangita Saramrita* of Tulaja who lived nearly two centuries later. Tulajaji refers to the *Suladis* of Purandaradasa in his descriptions of *Ragas* and also in the *Prabandha* chapter. And these references are more than 20 in number. Apart from the *Suladi*, *Hasugala kareva dhvani* referred to in the *Prabandha* chapter, Tulajaji quotes sections from many *Suladis* to describe the *lakshanas* of *Ragas* like *Sudhanati*, *Ardradesi*, *Takka*, *Nadaramakriya*, *Goulipanthu*, *Goula*, *Malahari* (a section of the *Gita 'Kundagoura'* is also quoted here), *Varali*, *Ramakri*, *Sankarabharana*, *Arabhi*, *Purvagoula*, *Narayanagoula*, *Desakshi*, *Bhairavi*, *Ritigoula*, *Hindola*, *Mukhari*, *Kannadagoula*, *Kedara*.

The significance of these references in the *Saramrita* has not been as much appreciated as it deserves. We must remember that in almost all the literature on music and dance produced during the past thousands of years, it is only mythical figures like Tumburu Narada, Hanuman, Nandi, etc. and eminent theoreticians like Bharata, Matanga, Dattila, Nanya, Someswara and Sarangadeva that are referred to as authorities on the subject. And it is interesting to note that nowhere in all these works any great practical exponents or *Vaggeyakaras* (composers) who gave shape to the theories expounded by these scholars and whose compositions were deemed as reference material to this, have been mentionted. Compared to these theoreticians such composers may have been legion. Every Royal court had patronised eminent musicians and we may presume that some of them atleast were endowed with creative minds and gave new life and forms to the lofty theories expounded by these *lakshanajnas*. In the alternative there is also the possibility of these theoreticians themselves describing many a *lakshana* on the basis of this new produce which replace the older ones. But surprisingly enough we do not come across any references to them in these treatises while enunciating the *lakshanas* of many features-- not even the name of Jayadeva. Obviously the ancients attached greater importance to theoreticians than exponents who practised and propagated the living form of those ideas.

The solitary exception seems to be the famous Gopala Nayaka

who is referred to by Kallinatha and also Venkatamakhi. Possibly he was such a great figure whose achievements in particular branches of music remained unsurpassed that these *lakshanajnas* were obliged to refer to him in support of some of their statements.

The significance of the references to Purandaradasa in the *Sangita Saramrita* could be appreciated when viewed against this background. It is also notable that with the exception of one Vyasapacharya, no reference is made in the *Saramrita* to such eminent composers like Kshetrajna and Bhadrachala Ramadasa, who came later and also Tulaja's own contemporaries like his brother Shahaji who is reputed to be a good composer or Veerabhadrayya. Thus it is reasonable to infer that Tulajaji chose these songs to exemplify his statements about many *ragas* because of the fact that during his days Purandaradasa was considered as a master of music (apart from being respected as a minstrel of god) and whose songs were deemed to be the touchstone of the Karnatak music tradition.

Now we shall view this subject from a different angle. The contribution to or influence of Purandaradasa on Karnatak music, if any, is to be studied in its broader perspective. A reference to literature on music produced during the span of time covering the periods of Purandaradasa to Tulajaji will be of help in this respect. This study will provide atleast a rough idea of the gradual development of Karnatak music to its present form. Purandaradasa lived during the golden age of Vijayanagar when creative activity in the various spheres of literature and arts developed in all its intensity and glory. The Royal court sheltered under its roof some of the best talents and creative minds drawn from different parts of the land and belonging to different schools and systems. To the north and east of Vijayanagar were the Bahamani Sultanates where Islamic and the Northern Indian system of music were being patronised. We can presume that there was a good deal of cultural traffic between Vijayanagar which also patronised the Northern Indian system of music as the Sultans were doing in respect of the music of the south in their courts. This exchange of music and musicians inevitably generated new ideas and reorientation of the older ones. Thus an entirely new face was given to Karnatak music by the numerous practical exponents or the *Rayabayakaras* and *Veggeyakaras* under the patronage of the Royal court. This music with its new face, new ideas and new strength and lustre gradually spread through the south and consists of the heart of the Karnatak music tradition even today.

Some of the works on music like the *Svaramelakalanidhi* of Ramamatya, *Sadragachandrodaya* of Pundarika Vithala, *Ragavibodha* of Somanatha, *Sangitasudha* of Govinda Dikshita, *Chaturdanda Prakasika* of Venkatamakhi, *Ragatalachintamani* of Poluri Govindamatya and operas like the *Gita Gopala* of Chickadevaraja or the *Yakshaganams*

produced in Tanjore and Mysore and also compositions of well known composers of the period will help to learn about the changing face of Karnatak music during the interval between Purandaradasa and Tulaja. Due to the cultural flow between the north and south new ideas germinated and took shape in the branches of *ragas* and compositions. We may refer in this context to the verses in the *Ragamanjari* of Pundarika Vithala where he mentions some Indian *ragas* with their Iranian counterparts. In addition to this the compositions and *talas* were also undergoing changes, from the cerebral to the lyrical. The older tongue-twisting compositions set in labyrinthian *talas* gradually yielded place to simpler forms. This subject has been described in detail by Prof. R. Satyanarayana in his article *Suladis and Ugabhogas*. In brief, music evolved into forms that could appeal as much to the head as to the heart and to scholar and laymen alike.

Needless to add that Purandaradasa lived in the midst of this music and adopted it for his compositions. The songs set in these new refined forms of *ragas* evolved at Vijayanagar immediately arrested attention and became popular. Added to this his peregrinations throughout the south helped to spread the beauty of these refined musical ideas while his songs established their popularity. These songs no doubt became an important part of the repertoire of not only the musicians but also the devotional music or *Bhagavata Bhajana-paddhati* where Purandaradasa was esteemed as a great minstrel of god.

The subject of the development of the *ragas* during this interval between Purandaradasa and Tulaja will be an interesting study. Referring to the works on music like *Svaramelakalanidhi* mentioned earlier, we could see that the number of the *ragas* is gradually on the increase nearly doubling itself by the time of Tulaja. Ramamatya, the author of *Svaramelakalanidhi* was a contemporary of Purandaradasa. An interesting point here is that some of the *ragas* described by Tulajaji in the *Saramrita* are not found in *Svaramelakalanidhi* But they are referred to by Purandaradasa in some of his songs. They are *Kalyani, Todi, Padi, Purvi, Maruva, Saranga*. Some of these ragas no doubt occur in some works subsequent to the *Svaramelakalanidhi* but anyway later than Purandaradasa. A few of them also occur in the *Gita Gopala* of Chickadevaraja composed nearly a century later.

As an itinerant minstrel Purandaradasa sang his way throughout the south. Set in the refined melodies evolved at Vijayanagar his compositions as much attracted people as his ascetic life and spiritual fervour compelled their respect so as to elevate him to the ranks of the ancient *Bhaktas*. Whether it was the newer but simpler structure of the *Suladi* much different from the time honoured *Prabandhas*.

the free flowing *Ugabhogas* and above all the canticles carrying different stamps from the folksy ballad to the classical composition, gradually relegated the older intricate compositions to the backstage and ultimate oblivion, we cannot say.

Many *ragas* that were new to the people and also the older ones invested with more refined blends came into circulation through his songs. From the available facts we could state with confidence that Purandaradasa enriched Karnataka music through the following *ragas*.--*Atana*, *Asaveri*, *Arabhi*, *Ghantarava*, *Erakala Kambhoji*, *Kalyani*, *Kapi*, *Todi*, *Desi*, *Pantuvarali*, *Padi*, *Purvi*, *Maruva*, *Mohana*, *Megharanji*, *Gouri*, *Saranga*, *Suruti*, *Huseni*. These became popular throughout the south enhancing the beauty of Karnatak tradition. But it is also interesting to find that purists may have frowned upon the entry of these new ideas and *ragas*. In his *Chaturdandi Prakasika* for instance Venkatamakhi has condemned both *Pantuvarali* and *Kalyani* as unfit for scholarly compositions, adding also that the *Kalyani* appealed to the Muslims. And many *ragas* designated *desiya* were introduced through his songs and all these *ragas* now considered as the mainstay of Karnatak music acquiring respectability in the intervening period. It may not be wrong to presume that it is this work that perpetuated the reputation of Purandaradasa as the *Sangita Pitamaha* throughout the sphere of Karnatak music.

The trinity of Karnatak music, especially Tyagaraja repeated this work of Purandaradasa two hundred years later. Each may be considered as the precursor of new ideas and trends in Karnatak music. After the fall of Vijayanagar these ideas and forms were improved further at Tanjore. Classification of *ragas* under the system of *Melas* was developed into a more logical arrangement by Venkatamakhi. His theory and its new possibilities were translated into viable forms in the *Sangraha Chudamani* of Govinda. On the other side the trinity of Karnatak music—Tyagaraja, Dikshitar, Syamasastry— and others gave them a clear definition through their compositions. These new ideas and new *ragas* flowered through the compositions of Tyagaraja and Dikshitar who gave a distinct personality to them and thus enriched Karnatak music.

It is learnt that the pattern of a music concert in the pre-Tyagaraja days was much different from today. The concert, it is learnt, commenced with an invocatory verse. Next came *Tanam* in the *Ghana ragas* to be followed by the songs of Jayadeva, Purandaradasa, Ramadasa and songs of some famous local composer. Next a spacious elaboration of a time honoured *raga* through *alapana*, *Tanam* and *Pallavi*. It is notable that these concerts invariably featured songs of Purandaradasa along with other composers. This pattern changed after the advent of the trinity whose compositions occupied the centre

of the stage by their more attractive ideas and melodies thus relagating the older ones to the backstage.

We must remember in this context that notwithstanding their novelty even superior melodies and ideas, the compositions of the trinity would have suffered the same fate as those of Purandaradasa. But fortunately they lived at the time of the advent of the machine age. Against the time honoured method of preserving the compositions by memory and palm leaf, printing by machine and production in large number became available thus helping the preservation of at least a good part of their works in notation.

Tyagaraja was also fortunate in having a large number of devoted disciples, who learnt his compositions and popularised and perpetuated them through the line of their disciples. As a consequence we are fortunate that a good part of this musical heritage is surviving, though many of the compositions of Tyagaraja suffered the same fate as those of Purandaradasa—twisted, tampered and loosing the original melody.

While there may be similarities between the spiritual thoughts and lives of Purandaradasa and Tyagaraja, their service to Karnatak music seems to be identical. Notwithstanding the claims and counter-claims in respect of the contribution of Purandaradasa in the sphere of Karnatak music, we can over that he was a pioneer in propagating and thus popularising the new ideas and forms developed at Vijayanagar which represents the soul of Karnatak music today. Nearly two centuries later this work was repeated by Tyagaraja when he gave a shape to the same forms and ideas acquiring a fresh vitality and beauty at Tanjore and thus enriched Karnatak music tradition further.

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Goravas of Karnataka

M. V. SEETHARAMAIAH

The word *Gorava* is applied to a class of Saiva devotees whose history stretches as far back as the 8th century A.D., or even earlier At present, they are generally found scattered here and there in the Kannada Country and Maharashtra. They are also called 'Goravayya' and 'Goravappa', and are known to belong to the Kuruba or the shepherd caste. The facts that they are devotees of Mylara Linga, an aspect of Lord Siva, and that their dress and trappings are roughly the same as those described in *Sankaradasimayya Purana* of Mallikarjuna kavi, are sufficient to establish their identity with the Goravas of yore. The items of dress and other appurtenances as described in that Purana may be summarised as follows :[1]

"The Goravas had marks of vermillion (*Kumkum*) and sandal paste on the forehead : round their necks they wore a string of cowries ; they wore a vest-coat of woollen blanket (*Kambali*) and a cap of the same material on the head ; they held an umbrella and a *chamara* of peacock feathers ; a Linga adorned the waist-band ; they had a bowl containing turmeric-powder ; their heads were close-shaven." (A brass plate with the images of a Linga, Parvati, Trisula or the Trident and a serpent embossed on it is worn on the person of the present-day Gorava ; his cap is made of black bear-skin).

There is a tradition that the Goravas, devotees of Mylara Linga, represent the seven-crore (*elkoti* or *ekkoti*) army of Lord Siva, who were the Ganas of Kailasa, and who followed Siva when he came down to earth in his *avatara* as Martanda Bhairava to kill a demon named Malla, who was a menace to Brahmins and sages in the performance of their Vedic rites and penance. Siva assumed the name of Mallari or Mailari at the request of Mallasura, who became a devotee of Siva before he died. The place where this encounter between Siva and Mallasura took place was called Manikula Parvata, and became famous as Mailara after the encounter, when

[1] *Kannada Kavya, Sasanagalalli Mailara mattu Malaci*: Dr. M. Chidanandamurty (*Samsodhana Taranga*, Vol. II, p 216 ; 1970, Department of Extension Lectures and Publications, Bangalore University, Bangalore).

Siva appeared there in the shape of Mailara Linga.[2] It would suffice here to say that Mailara Linga claims devotees all over Karnataka, among whom the Goravas form a distinct entity.

Till very recently, even brahmin families with Mailara Linga as their family-deity observed the time-honoured custom of inviting the Goravas on festive occasions like weddings, etc., and feasting them sumptuously. This seems to resemble the worship of Jangamas by the Virasaivas. The Goravas are believed to represent the Kailasa Ganas of Siva just as Jangamas. It must be noted, however, that the Goravas are neither brahmins nor Virasaivas.

There is hardly any authoritative work either in Kannada or English containing adequate information on the socio-cultural status and historical background of this patently religious sect called Goravas. Kittel's entry on *Gorava*, which gives the meanings of the word as (1) "a class of *saiva* beggars," and (2) "Siva practising as a mendicant," is based on a couple of literary sources, and does not cover the entire range of the semantic implications of the word. E. Thornton, in his *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. II, just mentions that 'Goravaru' are "a class of Kanarese mendicants." Enough information is available in respect of a community called Guravas, residing in the Bijapur and Belgaum districts of North Karnataka, who cannot be deemed to be the counterparts of Goravas in any respect, except in name. I agree with the opinion of Dr. M. Chidanandamurty that these 'Guravas' are quite different from 'Goravas', devotees of Mailara Linga.[3]

It is really surprising that a good number of ancient and medieval Kannada works, and Kannada inscriptions up to the end of the 14th century contain allusions and references to Goravas. An attempt is made here to trace the metamorphosis of this ancient community of people.

Epigraphical Data: The earliest epigraphical reference is contained in an inscription[4] dated Saka 726 (803–4 A.D.) which records a land-grant made by the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III to a *Gorava*

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[2] This traditional Puranic story is narrated in a Sanskrit work entitled *Mallari Mahatmya*. This is available in its Kannada prose version by Y. G. Kulakarni, published by Sadbodha Chandrike, Anandavan, Agdi. A somewhat different version of the same story is narrated in *Anubhavasikhamani* by Narasimha Kavi (1798 A.D. Vide *Samsodhana Taranga*, Vol. II, pp. 220–222). The Puranic Mailara is identified withthe one of the same name situated near Hoovina Hadagali Taluk in Bellary District, Mysore State (Vide *Mallari Mahatme*, p. 142).

[3] Vide *Bombay Gazetteer* (Vol. XXIII, Bijapur District, pp. 265–7, and Vol. XXI, Belgaum District, pp. 106–7; quoted in extenso by Dr. M. Chidanandamurty in his '*Kannada Sasanagala Samskritika Adhyayana*', 1966, pp. 158–9. Both the words *Gorava* and *Gurava* are derived from the plural nominative of *Guru* (*Guruh* > *Guravah* > *Gurava, Gorava*).

[4] *Ind. Ant.* XI, pp. 126–7.

named Sivadhari. Dr. Fleet, in the course of his translation of the inscription, considers *Gorava* to be a "priest of the Kuruba caste." There is no basis for this statement. The present-day Goravas are said to belong to the Kuruba community. This fact might have led him to infer that the ancient *Gorava* also was a Kuruba. Dr. A. S. Altekar holds similar views in this regard. He seems to be led, or rather misled, by the statement of Fleet into the belief that temple worship was entrusted to non-brahmins (i.e. Goravas), and "that the Guravas were originally non-aryans, and very probably Dravidian priests. . . ."[5] It is likely, as will be seen later, that the term *Gorava* was initially applied to *Saiva* brahmins of the priestly order, at least during the early period of the Rashtrakuta kings, and later on to all Saivites in general who were either priests or temple worshippers. The Nandi grant of Govinda III (807 A.D.) mentions a gift of land to Kalamukha Saivas.[6] The Mantrawadi inscription[7] of Amoghavarsha, dated 865 A.D., informs us that the *Sthana* (i.e., *devasthana*, temple) at the place was entrusted to the management of Goravas who were required to be celibates, with the express warning that they would be made to quit the temple by the '*Gorava* Order' if they transgressed the vow of celibacy. An inscription dated 1041 A.D. refers to Narada as 'Narada-Gorava.[8] Since Narada is well-known in Puranas as a celibate sage, it could be assumed that the term *Gorava* was generally applied to *tapasvis* in those days. An inscription[9] dated 1058 which refers to grant of lands to the Nagesvara temple at Sundi contains the injunction that the Kalamukha Goravas would be ejected from the temple if they did not adhere to the vow of celibacy. It should be noted here that the appellation *Gorava* is applied to the Kalamukha sect of Saivas, who were certainly not Kurubas. It may also be noted that no inscription categorically says that Goravas were brahmins. It is known from inscriptions that places like Belgaum, Huli, Srisaila, Nandi, Orungal and Kalahasti in the Kannada and Telugu countries were centers of Kalamukhas, and that Kalamukhacharyas were Rajagurus (royal priests or 'goravas' to kings). They bore the titles such as '*deva*' '*pandita*', '*rasi*', '*sakti*', '*jiva*', '*siva*', '*gorava*', '*vrati*', '*muni*', etc., after their names. They assiduously performed religious rites enjoined by *Lakulagama*. The royal dynasties of Karnataka from the Satavahanas right up to the Vijayanagara kings gave munificent grants to them.[10] An inscription[11] dated 950 A.D. records the unique

5 *Rashtrakutas and their Times*, 2nd edition, 1967, p. 293.
6 *Kannada Sahitya Parishat Patrike*, XXVIII, April 1943, p. 17.
7 *Ep. Ind.*, VII, pp. 198ff.
8 Quoted by R. Narasimhachar in his *Kavi Charite*, I. (1924), p. 75.
9 *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 87.
10 Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri : *Bharatiya Samskriti*, p. 132.
11 *Ep. Carn.*, III, Md. 41.

act of raising a 'hero-tablet' (*Viragal*) by Manalera, a member of the body-guard of Butuga II, the Ganga ruler, in memory of his pet-dog which died during a boar-hunt and appointing a *Gorava* for the worship of the image of the heroic dog carved on the tablet.[12] Except in this instance, all others relating to Gorava worshippers pertain to Siva temples.

These Goravas generally belonged to the *Kalamukha* or the *Pasupata* sect of Saivism. These *Saiva* Goravas who were chief priests of temples and Rajagurus were brahmins, well versed in Vedic lore. The royal priest of Bukka I was one Kriyasakti, a *Kalamukha Saiva*. The influence of Kalamukhas seems so have waned after the 14th century, probably due to increasing influence of Virasaivism and Vaishnavism. It is interesting to note that one inscription[13] dated 1174 A.D. distinguishes Goravas from brahmins, and equates them with brahmins in regard to their respectability. This leads us to suppose that non-brahmin Saivas were also entrusted with temple worship in course of time, and were held in high esteem along with brahmins. Another inscription[14] dated 1149 A.D. speaks disparagingly of Goravas who had the habit of stealing small coins and hiding them in the crevices of their matted locks, and giving them away to their mistressess.

Literary data : The earliest mention about Goravas in Kannada literature occurs in *Kavirajamarga* of Sri Vijaya (c. 850 A.D.). In an illustrative stanza pertaining to the proper use of *samuchchaya* (conjunction), the context expresses a general wish that "the Goravas be pleased to bless the king" (I–133). It may be inferred from this statement that Goravas were held in high esteem in the royal household of Amoghavarsha Nripatunga and that they might have been Rajagurus. Poets like Pampa (941 A.D.), Chandraraja (1040 A.D.), Nagachandra (9. 1100 A.D.) and some writers of recent times like Muddana (1900) and Motaganahalli Ramasesha Sastri (in his *Bhagavata Mahapurana*, 1912) have used the word in the sense of Siva or a *Saiva Sanyasi*, or a *Sanyasi* in general. Kesiraja (c. 1275 A.D.), the famous grammarian, gives the meaning of the word *Belladi* (i.e. Siva) as Gorava. Siva being *Lokaguru*, it would be natural to call him by the Kannada *tadbhava* equivalent *Gorava*. Siva was also a *Vairagi* and a *Tapasvin* ; *ipso facto* the term *Gorava* would become applicable to all *Saiva Sanyasis*. Thus, when Narahari (c. 1500 A.D.) refers, in a certain context in his *Ramayana*, to Siva as "the *Gorava* being present to bless", we are reminded of the context in *Kavirajamarga*, and the sanctity attached to the exalted position of *Gorava*

[12] Dr. M. Chidanandamurthy : *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[13] *Ep. Carn.*, V, Hn 58, Quoted by R. Narasimhachar in his '*Sasana Padya Manjari*', p. 153.

[14] *Ibid.*, XII Ck. 30, Quoted by M. Chidanandamurthy *op. cit.*, p. 141.

during certain periods in our society. The word *Gorava* might have been used in the general sense of *guru* also, and applied to any *guru*, without any connotative significance attached to the term *Gorava*.

Nayasena's (c. 1100 A.D.) specific references to "Mylarada Gorava" (Gorava belonging to the place called Mylara) as a beggar[15] and to their peculiar way of crying out in the streets '*hudukkara*' or *nudunkara*, also *dunadumkara*)[16] by Madhura establish beyond a shadow of doubt that they are the forbears of the present-day Goravas. Janna (1230 A.D.) seems to distinguish Goravas from brahmins (cf. inscription dated 1174, cited earlier) when he says that a brahmin has to perform the sacrifice, while a *Gorava* has to wear the matted lock (*jade*).[17] Pampa also refers to the matted lock and the sacred ashes of the *Gorava* or the *Saiva Sanyasi*.[18]

But the most vituperative remarks spark off from the expressions of Brahmasiva (c. 1150 A.D.), a Jaina poet, who, according to his own admission, embraced Jainism when he found no substantial good in the Mahesvara creed of his birth. 'Mahesvara' is a general term applied indiscriminately (so it seems) to all the schools of *Saiva* faith, viz., *Pasupata*, *Kalamukha*, *Lakulisa* and *Kapali*. And Brahmasiva seems to apply the term *Gorava* to the *Saiva* 'gurus' belonging to all these schools. At one place, he refers to *Kapalika* as *Mahavrati Gorava*.'[19] His opinion on Goravas may be summed up as follows :—

"The Goravas renounce their homes, wives, children and friends; discard riches; and take vow to do penance. But soon they pine after the company of women. How ignorant are they! They are prepared to commit any (wrong) thing!"

"They say it is shameful to go abegging from door to door. But they are always glad to eat food if served by women. These Goravas are verily, 'devotees of cooked-rice' (*Kulbhakta*) (not of Siva)."

"The Goravas partake of ghee and water offered from out of cowhide containers without any compunction, and praise the donor (of these articles) as a giver of sweet food."

"The Goravas eat food prepared with unpurified grain (which may contain worms); they pick out lice from their matted locks and kill them; but they aver that cats should not be allowed to kill mice."

"Ignorant persons catch young deer and offer their flesh as food

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15 *Dharmamrita* ; III-206 vachana, VIII-51 vachana.

16 *Dharmanatha Purana* : I-57. (For a full discussion of this expression, consult *Samsodhana Taranga*, I, pp. 146-150.)

17 *Anantanatha Purana* : II-28 *vachana*.

18 *Pampa Bharata* : VIII-17.

19 *Samayapariksha*, XIV-50.

to Goravas, and accommodate them to share bed with prostitutes, in the belief that they would attain heaven."[20]

One could generally detect a tinge of sarcasm in the utterances of Kannada poets. Most of them being Jains, it is quite natural that their attitude to Goravas should be so. The utterances also reflect to some extent the gradual decline in the respect they commanded in society. Even a brahmin poet like Mahalingaranga (c. 1675 A.D.) has a dig at the *Gorava*: "Where is the necessity of Sanskrit for a *Gorava*," he asks.

It is to be noted that only one or two inscriptions of a comparatively later date in the 12th century refer to Goravas as distinct from Brahmins and guilty of unsocial acts, while all the previous inscription speak highly of Goravas. Brahmasiva who is harsh towards Goravas belongs to the same later period. Allowing reasonable latitude for religious bias and exaggerateds tatements natural to the literary expression of those times, we can conclude, on the basis of epigraphical and literary evidence of which a fair and representative sample is furnished above, that the Goravas were originally *Saiva* devotees, respected by the society for their religious attainments, proficiency in all the branches of Sanskrit learning and ethical standards of a high order, and were chosen as Rajagurus. and were generally in charge of the worship and maintenance of *Saiva* temples until the advent of Virasaivism. It is quite likely that degeneration, marked by evil practices, had started in the *Gorava* priestly order even during the latter half of the 12th century; and Brahmasiva's description of Goravas reflects to some extent the decadent state of that class of Saivas. It is quite possible that the Virasaiva movement ushered in by the great socio-religious reformer Basavesvara, who was himself a *Saiva* brahmin, transformed and absorbed most of the *Saiva* community into its all-embracing fold. When some of the lesser *Saiva* temples were bereft of the *Saiva* brahmin priests, since worship of Sthavara Linga (installed stone image of Linga) is prohibited in the *Virasaiva* faith, it is possible that members of a lower caste who were also Saivas might have appropriated those places of worship, and continued the *Gorava* tradition. The present-day *Gorava* caste is but a vestige of the ancient community which underwent a series of transformations through the centuries, the ramifications of whose socio-cultural bearings are still a matter requiring further study and investigation.

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[20] *Ibid.*, XIV—12, 6, 7, 16, and 73.

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Sectarian and Secular Bases of Social Welfare and their Consequences

H. M. MARULASIDDAIAH

HISTORY of any people is the process in which various social forces are in operation or active in a dynamic frame-work evolved through the ages. How people have been living in an atmosphere of co-operation and conflict would reflect the way the social forces are at work, and the welfare activities whether informally operative or formally organised would provide a fertile ground to examine the nature of a very important aspect of the life of a people. Viewed against this one would realize that the history of social welfare in India has been one of consolidation of caste and religious forces, mobility of different sections of the people and ambivalent attitude exhibited by the upstarts.[1]

It is assumed that social welfare activities are needed more in the urban than in the rural community as the former is composed of heterogeneous groups and the people are not very much bound by traditional obligations of looking after their less fortunate kinsmen, caste fellows and compatriots. It is, as a consequence, assumed that welfare measures are organised by the third party to look after the need.

The people in the urban community as opposed to those in the rural community are believed to be more secular than sectarian or religious in their attitudes and actions. Accordingly, the welfare measures are supposed to be based on secular rather than on religious or caste considerations.

To examine whether at least some of these assumptions are true, an urban community, Bangalore[2], was selected and welfare measures were studied. The findings show that the assumptions cannot be accepted completely as valid. However, the observations presented here are tentative and they are in the nature of hypotheses rather than in the form of verified and established facts.

Bangalore, the capital of Mysore State, has been a centre of different religious, caste, regional, linguistic and cultural groups.

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[1] See my paper, 'Caste Consolidation, Social Mobility and Ambivalence' in the *Indian Journal of Social Work*, January, 1971.

[2] This paper is based on an empirical study of welfare measures made in Bangalore during 1965–67.

Muslims, Marathas and Europeans, particularly British, have brought new cultural elements to be woven into the cultural matrix of the City. There are Buddhists, Christians, Jains, Muslims, Parsis, Sikhs and some tribal religious groups besides Hindus. There are Bengali, Gujarathi, Hindi, Malayalam, Marathi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu and some tribal dialect speaking peoples besides Kannadigas. Among the Hindus there are Balijas, Bhavasara Kshatriyas, Brahmins, Dasas, Devangas, Harijans, Lingayats, Koramas, Kunchatigas, Kurubas, Mudaliyars, Naidus, Nayindas, Reddis, Vaishyas, Vokkaligas, Yadavas and such other castes. Many of these have come from different regions and settled down here, and have been leading a way of life which has led to the maintenance of a composite nature of 'Bangalore Culture'.

The city is one of the important industrial, commercial, educational and medical centres in South India. Modern education, industry, commerce, means of communication, such as transport, press and radio, are expected to further secular and democratic forces in the urban society. But the tradition here is found to be dying very hard. People seem to hold on to the tradition though they are not totally against receiving new elements. Bangaloreans modify new things in the light of their tradition before they have accepted them into their way of life.

The complexity of group life and the tradition coupled with traditional attitude towards helping the less fortunate have become the background for the organisation of welfare measures. We may recognise three types of welfare agencies: Sectarian, Secular and Semi-secular. The voluntary organisations, particularly those organised earlier and had taken up social welfare services solely or besides other services, had their roots in religion or caste. For example, the Christian missions[3] were the first to open schools for girls, hospitals for the poor, homes for the orphans, destitutes, widows and the aged. The Hindus[4] joined them in organising orphanages and welfare agencies for the poor. Later on the Muslims,[5] the Jains,[6] the Buddhists[7] started organising welfare services mostly for their own people. Among the Hindus the welfare services were organised mostly on the caste basis. Different caste groups, particularly enlightened ones such as Brahmins, Lingayats and Vaisyas came forward to help their caste fellows who were in need of assistance. Other castes followed them either on their own initiative or inspired by some of the high caste leaders. Here, as in other areas,

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[3] The first agency was established in 1830 for looking after the disabled aged.

[4] The first orphanage was established in 1833.

[5] Their orphanage was opened in 1892.

[6] The hostel for their students was established in 1926.

[7] A branch of Mahabodhi society was opened in Bangalore in 1956.

the dynamic Brahmins[8] took initiative in organising or encouraging to organize welfare agencies for the depressed and down trodden as a result of which they retained their leadership position in the field of social welfare also.

In this connection it is to be remembered how the Backward Classes Movement in South India started in Madras State in the early days of the present century, strengthened the communal forces in Mysore State, and how the welfare services reflected the movement as well. The state government was urged to take up the cause of the Backward Classes in providing them with employment opportunities in the Government Services and sanctioning liberal grants to communal organisations engaged in welfare work such as starting and maintaining student homes for their caste follows.

The State Government until 1947 and even afterwards for sometime,[9] perhaps due to this kind of pressure and because of the generosity of the Mysore Kings, helped the religious and caste organisations by way of granting free sites, providing building and maintenace grants. Besides, the State had provision to assist Backward class students by way of granting freeships and scholarships, and also by opening separate schools for depressed class children. And since Independence the government have been running free hostels for Harijan students. Of course in 1966 these Harijan hostels were converted into general hostels for the poor students irrespective of their group affiliation.[10]

The religious and caste sentiments, Backward Classes Movement, Harijan Movement and the State policy of aiding communal organisations provided fertile base for the organisation of welfare services by various sectarian groups which engendered a number of palpable consequences.

The welfare programmes organised by the communal bodies or those that put on the secular garb promoted the welfare of their own people. For this purpose the caste leaders began to develop contacts with their caste follows living in different parts of the state and also of neighbouring states of Tamilnadu and Andhra Pradesh particularly, and brought them under one organisation, mobilised resources within and outside Bangalore, opened boarding and lodging homes for their caste students studying in the schools and colleges in Bangalore. Further, such organisations did not confine

[8] For instance, one Brahmin started 'Harijan Movement' in Bangalore and he was nick-named as 'Harijan Iyyar'.

[9] Even as late as 1951 a free site was given to the Hoysala Karnataka Sangha for building a hostel.

[10] It was found that rarely if ever the high caste students desired and joined such hostels.

to organising only the welfare programmes for their fellowmen but widened their sphere to cover political, economic and other interests. As a result the castes became aware of the usefulness of coming together and of consolidating their strength. Bangalore, particularly after it became the capital of enlarged Mysore State, began to witness the establishment or improvement of branches of various Hindu Maths and Christian organisations whose interests were not merely religious.

Another important development was the rising aspiration of those sections which were so far downtrodden or backward, of those who were far removed from the sphere of education, administration and political activities, to take active interest and part in the political, administrative and educational activities. By getting educated with the help of their caste hostels and government aid they could move from their traditional to other occupations which were either barred to or not accessible for them before. The new economic role that they began to play led them to assume meaningful roles in the political and administrative areas. As a result their style of life got modified. Those who were treated as lower, backward, illiterate castes began to get, in a sense, sanskritised and in some cases westernised.

But this kind of social mobility did not bring satisfaction to many of them to the extent that they desired as they were forced to feel ambivalent. Their kith and kin, a large chunk, with whom they had to maintain marital, religious and other traditional relations still remained in their original rung of social ladder. But their position was something different which did not permit them to maintain the same type of relationship that was traditionally expected of them. As a result they began to live in two worlds of work and of values. But the newly introduced democratic institutions such as adult franchise, induced them to re-establish closer ties with their lagging fellowmen living in villages and also in towns for their numerical support. The political necessity forced them to seek communal support which was possible only by organising new welfare-oriented or modern-time-suited projects or strengthening the old ones. That was why the communal organisations began to start schools and colleges, establish commercial enterprises such as co-operative stores and banks besides welfare agencies.

Not only in this but also in another sense the upstarts began to live in two worlds and exhibited ambivalent attitude. Since these desired to show off to the world as 'forward' or since they wanted to assert their superior position which was naturally different from the one formerly admitted to them by others, they did not like to be considered as 'backward'. But the facilities offered by the state were so attractive that they could not insist on their being called 'forward'.

On the other hand many began to 'claim' to be called backward in order to get government favours though they did not cease to 'enjoy' the style of life of the high ups. This situation, therefore led them, again into two worlds—the one that was gained and the one that was old but convenient or useful.

But in 1956 when the Indian states were reorganised and when the Mysore State was enlarged, the state government entered the field of social welfare directly and conspicuously too. Its entrance into the field of social welfare not only enhanced the existing government-based services but also brought new fields of services into being. That is to say, besides helping the socially under-previleged such as Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Classes by way of granting scholarships, organising student homes, opening women and child welfare centres in the slum areas, constructing houses, providing employment opportunities, aiding them with money and material, the state government established a Department of Probation and After-care Services (known also as Inspectorate of Certified Schools) to organise programmes to correct delinquent juveniles, protect and train women in moral danger in useful occupations, train and employ the physically handicapped, rehabilitate the released persons from the correctional and non-correctional institutions etc. The government, thus, expanded its welfare programmes.

By this one can understand that the state government along with the central and local self-government and some of the international bodies, provided secular base for the organization of welfare services.

The third base, if we can recognise one, consisted of a few organisations which were semi-secular in nature. These organisations though did not have official affiliation with any sects or castes, exhibited certain communal characteristics in their administrative processes and also in rendering welfare services to the needy.

When one base is compared with the other, and when all of them are viewed against the concept of welfare, secular and democratic state, one can realise that sectarian or communal rather than secular forces dominated the welfare services in Bangalore, and contributed to the consolidation of the religious and caste forces. Industrialization and urbanization were not of much avail in preventing the communal sentiments being at the roots of social welfare programmes. Therefore it is the government with its political, administrative and financial strength that seems to be the only base that can further the secular interests provided it is seriously concerned with it. But the communal forces that direct the political activities may not spare even the field of social welfare to be free from narrow considerations. However, the voluntariness in

social welfare need to be preserved and strengthened. Professionally trained social workers, administrators and policy makers have to hold dialogue with each others and see that suitable steps are taken to further the secular and democratic forces in the field of social welfare.

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Development of Astrological Thought in Karnataka

T. R. RAO

MANY persons believe that their careers are controlled by destiny. For them, all activities of their lives are pre-determined by some unknown agency. Others who do not belong to this fold think that they can change their careers and the way of living as and when they like. In brief, the people of the former group are the proponents of *Jñana* while the people of the latter group are the proponents of *Vijnana*. There is a third group of persons who believe that some of their activities are controlled by nature and other activities by their own deeds. In the first and the third group, persons with belief in astrology are found. Even persons belonging to the second group may turn out to be believers in astrology when successive failures in their attempts to control nature occur or when they discover a significant correlation between events and astrological factors. If people have lost faith in astrology it is due to the fact that predictions given by astrologers have often failed or due to the fact that some people are not prepared even to give a patient hearing to the arguments in favour of astrology. The science of astrology in the hands of quacks and mediocres, the complexity involved in the analysis and interpretation of planetary positions and lack of adequate patronage by the government and the public are some of the reasons generally attributed for a stagnant state of affairs in the field of astrology. In spite of this type of situation, most of the households maintain records of their birth and of their relations and they visit astrologers for the prediction of their future. Especially in a country like India most of the people take it for granted that some amount of help is received by astrological predictions.

An analysis of the historical development of the field shows that astrology in India existed even in the Vedic period. In the *Rigveda*, it has been mentioned that guidance from planetary positions was taken to fix the dates for the performance of sacrifices. The utility of astrological thought for human welfare seems to be a later development in the history of Indian astrology. Hindu astronomy was an essential part of Hindu astrology and even today orthodox astrologers have greater faith in using the age-old methods of calculation instead of referring to the modern methods of computation. As such, Hindu

astronomical observations served the purpose of basic foundations on which, later on, Indian astrology developed. *Surya Siddhanta, Aryabhatiya, Panchasiddhantika, Dasagitikasutra, Paulisa Siddhanta, Brahma Siddhanta, Khandakhadhyaya, Chisyadhivriddhitantra, Rajamriganka, Siddhanta Siromani, Karana Kutahala, Tithyadipatra* or the *Grahalaghava* are some of the important works which contributed towards the development of knowledge in Hindu astronomy and mathematics.

There are evidences to show that Indian astrology has borrowed some of the concepts from Greeks but it has also been proved that it is wrong to assume that Indian astrology was borrowed entirely from Greece. Varahamihira's *Brihajjataka* and *Laghujataka*, Sridhara's *Jataka Tilaka* and Kalyana Varma's *Saravali* are monumental works in Indian astrology. These works have developed on the treasure of knowledge contained in various *siddhantas* suggested by Maya, Satyacharya, Vishnugupta, Devasvamin, Jivasarman, Yavanacharya and others. Parasara, Bhrigu and Jaimini have established their own schools of thought in Indian astrology.

In Karnataka also, a good number of authors have contributed to the science of Indian astrology. However, as compared to the bulk of literature available in Sanskrit in the shape of printed books and manuscripts presented in libraries the literature in Kannada on this subject is too meagre. Chavundaraya's *Lokopakaram* appears to be the first treatise with *Jataka Tilakam* by Sridharacharya being the second authenticated work in the field. Other works are in the form of manuscripts. The subject matter of these manuscripts can be broadly grouped into a few categories dealing with *Prasnaphala, Sakuna phala, Jataka phala* and others. Some of the manuscripts are in mutilated form. Most of the manuscripts have been written on palm leaves in old Kannada script, some of them being in prose form and others in poetical form. In some of the manuscripts, other *Sastras* such as *Gaja Sastra, Asva Sastra, Vaidya Sastra* have also been written in addition to information on astrological factors. Some of these manuscripts are concerned with *Samudrika Sastra*

According to a statement made by R. Narasimhachar in his *Karnataka Kavicharite*, an authoritative work on the history of Karnataka authors, the Kannadigas of the sixth century A.D. were aware of all the planets and their movement except the planets Mercury and Saturn. *Lokopakaram* of Chavundaraya II belongs to the year 1025 A.D. Justifying the title of the book the work is really useful for all types of people. The book was edited by H. Sesha Iyengar and published by the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, in 1950. A part of this work has been devoted to astrology. The first four chapters deal with the auspicious days for the routine duties of an individual and also for the construction of a

new house, travels etc. The *Sakuna phalas* both for an individual and the country as a whole have also been discussed. Further discussions on *Sakuna Phalas* are found in the twelfth chapter while chapter eleven deals with the auspicious and inauspicious physiognomical structures of men and women and characteristics associated with these typical patterns of structure.

Jataka Tilakam is a composition by Sridharacharya. It was written in 1049 A.D. As the author states, this work was completed after taking into consideration the quint essence of *Brihajjataka*, *Laghu Jataka* and *Saravali*. The book contains twenty four chapters. *Samjna*, *Balabala*, *Garbhadana*, *Janma*, *Viyoni Janma*, *Arishta Yoga*, *Arishta Bhanga*, *Ayurdaya*, *Dasantardasa*, *Ashta Kavarga*, *Karma Jivana*, various *Yogas*, *Rasisila*, *Bhava Phalas*, *Stri jatakaniryana* and *Nashta Jataka* are the topics discussed in this work. The book was edited with a commentary by S. N. Krishna Jois in 1959.

In addition to these two printed works in Kannada, a number of writings have remained in the form of manuscripts. Rattakavi also known as Arhaddasa wrote *Rattamata* in about 1300 A.D. which gives details regarding *Samvatsara phala*. Another work with the title *Rattana Jataka* was written around 1600 A.D. by Gangadhara which is *Jyotisha phalasastra*. There are two more manuscripts with the title *Ratta sastra* which give the same details regarding the effect of sixty years' cycle. Another manuscript with the title *Samvatsara phala* written in about 1650 A.D. also gives information on the good and bad effects of each year. A manuscript with the title *Jyotisha Sangraha* deals with *samvatsara phala* in addition to dealing with *nakshatra phalas*. Six manuscripts of *Narapingali* are available at present. It seems to have been written by Subhachandra around 1500 A.D. It is a *Sakuna grantha*. There are also other *Sakuna granthas*. *Sakuna Prapancha* by Chakaraja written about 1500 A.D., *Sakuna* by Puttupadhyaya in about 1570 A.D., *Sakuna phala*, *Svara chintamani*, *Svara Lakshana chintamani*, *Sakunagalu* (about 1600 A.D.), *Palli Sakuna*, *Nadisvarasastra*, *Pratibhagi Kannada vyakhyana*, *Prasna chintamani* (1700 A.D.), *Sakuna Sangraha* by Siddhanti Subrahmanya Sastri are other works available on *Sakuna*. Some of these writings also deal with *Prasna bhaga*. The works which are known for details on *prasna* are *Akshara Kevali Nimitta*, *Kerela Prasne*, *Prasna chintamani* (about 1700 A.D.), *Prasna Sastra*, *Jinendramala* (about 1600 A.D.) *Svara chintamani*, *Jyotisha Sangraha* (about 1650 A.D.), *Navaratna chintamani*, *Vara prasna dipa* by Vamana Annappa Bhatta and *Nandikesvara Aksharaprasne*.

Markandeya Purana and *Markandeya Jyotisha* by Betaraya (about 1750 A.D.) also deal with *dvadasa phalas* with reference to different *rasis*. Similar attempt has been made in *Jataka chandrika* but the manuscript available shows that the work is incomplete. *Jataka*

Samrajya tike is a work attributed to Mummadi Krishnaraja (1794-1868 A.D.). *Divakara Paddhati Pradipika* by Timmaraya is also a *Jyotisha phala grantha*. *Nakshatra Chudamani* is another work of this type.

In addition to the writings mentioned above, there are a few works on *Samudrika Sastra*. *Samudrika Lakshana* (about 1600 A.D.), *Samudrika Lakshana Mattu Phala Vivara* by Bhadrabahu and *Samudrika Sara* by Ramasuri are some of the known works on *Samudrika Sastra*.

Brihajjataka Tike, *Vidyamadhaviya Jyotisha* (about 1650 A.D.), *Abdhi Kalpa* (about 1735 A.D.) by probably Janapadabhringa, *Jyotissastra Sangraha Tika*, *Karana Granthas* such as *Pratibhagi Kannada Vyakhyana*, *Jyotisha Phala Grantha*, *Kautuka Chintamani* are other works which are available on *Jyotishya*.

In recent years, a good number of astrologers have started writing books on astrology in prose. Suryanarayana Rao, the founder of the Astrological Magazine at Bangalore, had to his credit a few books. His successor B. V. Raman is well known for the good service he is rendering to the field of astrology through his many publications in English. Among other writers of books on astrology in Karnataka the names of Bhanupriya, Kesava Varma Galagali, Koneri Subba Rao, M. R. Bhatt, N. K. Jogalekar may be mentioned. R. G. Rao has written a book on Palmistry. R. Shama Sastry has also written a book and several articles on astrology, and there are other books available on this subject in Kannada.

A critical analysis of the books and articles published by the authors in Karnataka indicates that a scientific approach with mutual co-operation is still lacking among the authors of *Jyotisha* works. Except for Jogalekar's series of books on various aspects of life with reference to planetary positions, which are in themselves indications of providing evidence for astrological facts, the author has not come across any systematic study being conducted by any well-known astrologer either in Karnataka or in any other part of India. This is indeed a very sad state of affairs so far as the field is concerned and with this type of situation allowed to continue it might ultimately lead to erroneous-conclusions regarding the scientific status of Indian astrology.

At present, with dynamic changes taking place in the allied sciences there is greater need to re-examine the concepts and models of astrology and determine their place in the scientific world. This would involve a great amount of research on new lines of thought.

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Arts and Crafts in Mysore City

P. R. TIPPESWAMY

MYSORE is not only a city of Gardens, but also a centre of high cultural attainment. It may have been partly due to the encouragement given by the rulers of Mysore and, at the same time, the atmosphere of Mysore being most congenial to the development of Fine Arts.

Mysore has been a pioneer in establishing traditions of and promoting painting, sculpture and handi-crafts. The Arts and Crafts of Mysore have attained a wide reputation both in India and abroad. Religion was the source of inspiration for painting and sculpture. The aesthetic urge and appreciation in the people, brought-out excellent handi-crafts.

Mysore, at one time, could boast of a galaxy of traditional artists. Their works of painting may be seen in the Mysore Palace, in the Mallikarjuna temple at Talkad and in the Chamarajeswara temple at Chamarajanagar. It is said that the painting on the walls of the Daria Doulat Palace at Srirangapatnam was also executed by the talented artists of Mysore. Mysore was also famous for another traditional art of painting in gold leaf and this art prevailed largely in a class of *chitragars* who were patronised by royalty as well as the affluent people. Temples and *mandirs* had also acquired them. The gold leaf paintings mainly related to the Hindu gods and goddesses. As the Western style of paintings grew popular, this traditional art of gold leaf painting decayed.

Mysore city was, perhaps, the first place where an Institution for teaching the Fine Arts of painting in traditional and western styles was started. It is no other than the Chamarajendra Technical Institute in Mysore, which produced several famous artists and craftsmen, late art veterans, K. Venkatappa, K. Keshavaiah, N. G. Pavanje, M. Veerappa and S. Nanjundaswamy being some of the great names to be reckoned with. They were known all over the country and their works find places of honour in several places, museums and art gallaries apart from private collections abroad. Today, we have amidst us many illustrious artists like *Padmasri* S. N. Swamy, *Padmasri* K. K. Hebbar, Y. Nagaraju, S. R. Iyengar, Y. Subramanya Raju, N. S. Subbakrishna, S. G. Tankasale, H. S.

Inamti, B. H. Ramachandra, Rumale Chennabasavaiah, S. S. Kukke. N. Hanumaiah, M. T. V. Acharya and many more of out-standing merit in the field of art. It is not far from truth to say that the rulers of Mysore had encouraged art and the artists to a large extent. Many of the artists were engaged to paint portraits, landscapes, compositions and the *durbar* scenes on large canvasses within the Palace, which are even today seen and admired by visitors. The Jayachamarajendra Art Gallery in the Jaganmohan Palace, endowed by the late Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar is a standing monument to the patronage bestowed upon artists and artisans by the successive rulers of Mysore.

Mysore is also known for its great heritage in sculpture. Its development in Mysore in recent years is also noteworthy. The source of inspiration has been the Hoysala style of sculpture. The temples of Halebid, Belur and Somanathapur are worthy monuments of architectural and sculptural achievements by the great sculptors of the past. Mysore can be proud of its sculptors even today as many of them are commissioned to work for several new temples and *mandirs* being built all over the state and outside.

The late Silpasiddhanti Siddalingaswamigalu, an authority on sculpture, enriched the art of stone-carving and has left a *Guru Peetha* an Institution for imparting training in sculpture, for posterity.

The handicrafts in Mysore are numerous and varied. They are generally the products of applied art.

Ivory and Sandalwood carving has been in existence in Mysore from very early times. The Gudigars of Sorab, Sagar and Kumta were engaged in their hereditary occupation of Sandalwood and Ivory carving. Articles of beauty and utility were made and marketed all over India. Mysore being the centre of all arts and crafts, it gradually attracted the Gudigars to the city and it has now developed into one of the major handicrafts. Inlay work is being practised in Mysore from as far back as the 17th century and it is now the most popular Cottage Industry engaging several hundreds of skilled workers. All the materials used for Inlay purposes are locally available. Rosewood articles inlaid with Ivory have a good demand in India as well as other countries. Mysore is also famous for its carvings in rosewood, bronze and stone. The artisans trained in the Institute here have been doing exquisite carvings in all the three media and in recent years the Central and State Handicrafts Development Corporations have been marketing their products in India and abroad. Some of the bronze figures in life size prepared by the well-known local artist Silpakalanidhi N. V. Chinnacharya have found their way to Rashtrapathi Bhavan, Museums and University Halls. Another Cottage Industry of

painted toys for utility, decoration and education, is worthy of mention here. One of Mysore's leading artists, late Sri M. Veerappa, pioneered the manufacture of these toys, which have now become popular all over India and abroad. He was also instrumental in making use of the bamboo—once considered a waste material—for manufacturing articles of utility and decoration. Bamboo carving is another special feature. The Mysore Toys Co., founded by the late artist Veerappa, have been turning out excellent products.

There is still another Art Industry, 'Taxidermy' in Mysore, which deserves mention here. Decades back, an European started this work in Mysore, with the help of local talent. Stuffing of the dead animals and birds and modelling them to look life-like, is the art of Taxidermy. It is a highly skilled work of a skinner, modeller and painter. The firm of Van Ingen and Van Ingen in Mysore are world famous. There are a few more individual taxidermists like V. Pradhaniah and Rangiah who have been doing excellent work in Taxidermy.

Another age-long craft work prevailing in Mysore is the manufacture of Gowri and Ganapati figures in clay. They will be in various sizes most aptly painted. A traditional class will be generally engaged for over three months before the Gowri-Ganesa Festivals. Almost all the Hindus purchase these figures to worship and invoke the divine blessings.

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Science Writing in Kannada

J. R. LAKSHMANA RAO

THE occasion was the 45th Kannada Sahitya Sammelana held at Karwar during April 1965. The late Prof. R. L. Narasimhaiah, a well-known science writer in Kannada was reviewing the development of science writing in Kannada during the previous ten years. He remarked : "My task is very simple. It reminds me of the zoologist who had to address a scientific meeting in England on the subject of 'Snakes in Iceland'. He is reported to have discharged his function by uttering from the forum just these two sentences : 'Gentlemen, there are no snakes in Iceland. So I have nothing more to say on the subject'." Prof. Narasimhaiah, however, admitted in the course of his talk that it would be an exaggeration to say that science writing in Kannada was as rare as snakes in Iceland, though he maintained that it was not a gross exaggeration.

It is almost certain that Prof. Narasimhaiah would not have made this remark if he was speaking to-day. For, the number of science writers in Kannada and the volume of their output have been increasing at an unprecedented rate in the last few years, though it has to be admitted that there is still much to be desired, especially in regard to the quality of writing.

There are different categories of scientific literature. Formerly, results of original investigations used to be published in the form of books. Newton's *Principia*, Boyle's *Sceptical Chymist* and Darwin's *Origin of Species* were books of that type. To-day there are hundreds of technical journals which serve as the media through which working scientists publish the results of their research work in the form of technical papers. It is this kind of writing that scientists call scientific literature in the narrow sense of the term. Writings of this type are non-existent in Kannada and their absence is not a thing to be regretted. The purpose of such publications is that they should reach other scientists who, all over the world, are working in a specific field. That is why scientists working even in advanced non-English countries often publish their technical papers in English journals, like *Nature*, which have a world-wide circulation.

Text books, treatises, monographs and various kinds of reference books required by students belong to a second category.

Production of books of this type is determined more or less by the demand for them in the market. If Kannada is adopted as the medium of instruction in schools and colleges, it will create a demand for such books, and the demand is sure to stimulate the production of the necessary books. But the non-availability of text-books in Kannada is one of the reasons advanced for not adopting Kannada as the medium of instruction. This vicious circle has to be broken somehow and one method of doing so would be to provide, for the production of text books, incentives in the form of prizes, and assure royalties even in the absence of a sizeable market for them. This is being done, in fact, by the three Universities in the state, and, as a result, scores of text books relating to the different branches of science have appeared in the last few years. Standard works in English are being translated too. It can reasonably be hoped that in less than a decade, we shall have text books in Kannada in all the branches of science which find a place in the curriculum of the degree classes.

The third category of scientific works comprises what are known as Popular Science Books, that is, books on science addressed to the lay man. The term 'science writing' is often used only with reference to this type of writing. The aim of popular science is to acquaint the lay public with the history and philosophy of science, its methodology and its concepts and, finally, the impact of science on society and vice-versa. In these days when the effects of science are being felt at every step in the life of the individual as well as of the community, the average citizen cannot afford to be ignorant of science and what it means to the society. There is thus a great need for this kind of literature.

Popular science writing, unlike the writing of text books and books of reference, cannot be expected to get a fillip merely from the existence of a need for that kind of writing. The need for this kind of literature is not one that is consciously felt by the people and so the law of supply and demand cannot operate automatically in this case. Men of science must first become conscious of what the people need and then strive to cultivate the art of interpreting science to the lay public using language with minimum technical jargon and thereby helping to create, among the public, an awareness of what they want. Once this basis is laid, the market machinery can be trusted to take care of the further course of the matter. It is here that the role of the pioneers in the field acquires its special importance.

Even in the West popular science writing was unknown till the middle of the 19th century, though modern science, in its present form, came to its own more than two centuries before, during the period of the Renaissance. Thomas Huxley, the foremost exponent

of Darwinism, may be regarded as the Father of Popular Science. Darwinism called in question some fundamental religious beliefs of the time and this gave rise to the great debate on Evolution. The internal affairs of science drew the attention of the general public. It thus became necessary for scientists to talk science in non-technical terms and to put across their thinking intelligibly to people who had not been initiated into science. Huxley rose to the occasion and admirably fulfilled the need of the hour.

There have been similar instances in the subsequent history of science, when the internal affairs of science awakened the people who were outside the field and who had chosen all the while to remain unconcerned about the happenings in science. The publication of Einstein's Relativity Theory in 1905, the dropping of the atomic bomb on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945 and the putting into orbit of the First Russian Sputnic in 1957 are instances of this. These events aroused public interest in science in a big way and, as a consequence, science writing developed into a consummate art in European languages.

We in India came into contact with modern science very much later. The British rulers who introduced the present educational system in India were not interested in imparting science education to us. Their interest lay in manufacturing efficient clerks and administrators needed to perpetuate their rule. However, it became inescapable for them to introduce some science at least so that they could train technicians who would help them to exploit our natural resources satisfactorily. Thus our contact with science came about slowly and it remained fragmentary. This being the situation, there was no question of any appreciable demand for popular science arising in this country. However if, in spite of this, some men who have had the good fortune to receive science education did take to science writing, it could be attributed to their remarkable foresight.

Viewed in this background, the efforts of Bellave Venkatanarayanappa, Professor of Physics, Central College, Bangalore and Nangapuram Venkatesha Iyengar, Head of the Meteorological Observatory, to develop the art of science writing in Kannada as early as the second decade of the century, are bound to arouse our admiration and respect. It was the year 1917. The situation which existed then with regard to science education in India is difficult for us to imagine now. The Universities of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, established in 1857, and that of Allahabad, established in 1887, were the only four Universities in India for over half a century prior to 1916, in which year the Mysore University came into being. The number of students in Central College, the only science college in Mysore State, could be counted on one's fingers. The so-called educated amongst us felt shy of using Kannada even

for conversing among themselves, let alone for talking science. It was in such a situation that the two savants became aware of the necessity of spreading science among our people, realised that it could be done only through the language of the people and founded an organisation known as the Karnataka Vijnana Pracharini Samithi. They even made bold to start under the auspices of that organisation a Kannada Monthly called *Vijnana*, entirely devoted to science.

That they were clear about the aims and objectives of their endeavour will be evident from the editorial which appeared in the first number of the Journal. They declared: "Cultivation of the English language has been gradually growing in our country during the last 60–70 years. But no attention is being paid to science which we can bring to our people through that language. We are just opening our eyes in this regard. There is no future for our country unless and until science spreads amongst the masses. This can be done only through our own language. So lovers of our country who have access to science through English should take up this task without undue delay."

It must have been extremely difficult to provide sufficient material to keep a journal of that kind going in those days. But the two scholars bore the brunt of the burden and themselves wrote most of the articles in it. They also succeeded in infusing enthusiasm into some of their colleagues in the University to write in Kannada. They collected information relating to the latest developments of science from journals like *Nature* and *Scientific American* and featured them as Science News. They strove their utmost to make the journal attractive. They did not lack either the interest or the enthusiasm necessary to keep the journal alive against great odds. Yet the time was just not ripe for such a venture. It was evident that they were far ahead of their times. The result was that the journal had to close down after a year.

The activities of the Karnataka Vijnana Pracharini Samithi were not confined to the publication of the journal. Public lectures in Kannada on scientific subjects were arranged in the cities of Bangalore and Mysore. They had succeeded in enthusing the State Government in this matter and securing for the Samithi a Government grant, and according to a report in one of the issues of *Vijnana*, Dr. M. Visvesvarayya, the then Dewan of Mysore, presided over the first lecture delivered by Prof. B. Venkatanarayanappa, who was also the Honorary Secretary of the Organisation.

The Samithi did not cease its activities when the publication of *Vijnana* was discontinued. It chose other activities directed towards the fulfilment of its fundamental objectives. Financial assistance was procured from Sri Kanteerava Narasimharaja Wodeyar, the Yuvaraja

of Mysore, who was also the President of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat, to bring out a series of scientific books under the name *Vaijnanika Granthamale.* The first book in the series was *Jyotirvinodini*, a translation by Nagapuram Venkatesh Iyengar of Camille Flumario's *Astronomy for Women.* It was published in 1931. Eight years later, in 1939, Prof. Bellave Venkatanarayanappa authored a magnificent popular book on biology known as *Jiva Vijnana* brought out by the University of Mysore. The part played by these two devoted men in the development of science writing in Kannada is memorable.

The "One-man Institution" manifested in the person of Dr. Shivarama Karanth has made valuable contributions to scientific literature in Kannada. He is not a scientist either by training or by vocation. A self-educated man with widely varied interests, Dr. Karanth was struck by the vast literature available to the English reader who wishes to get acquainted with the achievements of modern science and regretted the helplessness of a similarly placed Kannada reader. With the stubbornness characteristic of him, Dr. Karanth decided to contribute his mite to alleviate the situation. His four-volume Science Encyclopaedia, known as *Vijnana Prapancha,* and the translation of several popular science books from English stand as a monument to his spirit of dedication, perseverance and energy. It is true that his writing lacks the precision that is the characteristic of a science writer who has had the benefit of rigorous scientific training. But it cannot be denied that there is none else in Karnataka who has succeeded in popularising science as he has done by writing on a variety of subjects and reaching the readers of all parts of Karnataka. Moreover, he has succeeded in his mission by arousing an interest in science and in providing a vast amount of reading material for those who wish to read.

Another individual, who has made significant contributions to science writing in Kannada is the late Prof. R. L. Narasimhaiah. A physicist by training and profession, Pro. Narasimhaiah kept himself abreast of the current advance of science and succeeded in interpreting the latest developments accurately in chaste Kannada. His lectures were extremely popular. *Sakti, Nakshatra Darsana, Jagattugala Huttu mattu Savu, Chandraloka Yatre* are some of his master-pieces. These and numerous articles scattered in the pages of *Prabuddha Karnataka* and many weeklies and monthlies speak eloquently of his vast learning and his ability to explain clearly the most intricate facts of science and also to coin from Sanskrit roots appropriate and happy equivalents for technical terms, wherever necessary.

Among institutions which have played a significant part in spotting out talent and in encouraging potential science writers to

cultivate the art, special mention must be made of the publications wing of the Mysore University and *Prabuddha Karnataka*, the Quarterly Journal founded by the Karnataka Sangha of Central College, Bangalore and now published under the auspices of the Mysore University. The first scientific book in Kannada brought out by the Mysore University was *Khagola Sastra* by Sri S. N. Naraharaiah. In course of time the activities of the publications wing gathered momentum and numerous books on scientific subjects have been published in the different series. The most noteworthy of these is the Extension Lecture Series. The University Teachers' Association, under the leadership of Sri G. Hanumantha Rao, adopted the novel practice of arranging popular lectures on various subjects in rural parts and then publishing the gist of these talks in book form. These low-priced booklets became extremely popular. In course of time the University found it expedient to establish a self-contained organisation known as Prasaranga to carry on this work in an organised manner. More than 50 booklets on scientific subjects have so far been brought out in this series. That many of them have gone into several editions and that the Bangalore and Karnataka Universities have also emulated their sister university is ample proof of the tremendous popularity of these books.

Prabuddha Karnataka, which was, as it were, in the vanguard of the Kannada Renaissance Movement, began its career in 1919 purely as a literary journal. But the people who were at the helm realised very soon that the all-round development of the Kannada language is well nigh impossible unless the language is developed as an efficient medium to convey the thoughts and ideas relating to all branches of modern knowledge. The result was that the journal permitted articles on Natural and Social Sciences also to appear in its pages. The first scientific article appeared in *Prabuddha Karnataka* as early as 1923. But by 1963 the volume of science writing grew so much that it became necessary to publish a Science supplement along with every alternate issue of *Prabuddha Karnataka*. By the time the journal completed 50 years of its life, there were more than 200 scientific articles published in its pages.

The Science Section of the Golden Jubilee Supplement of *Prabuddha Karnataka* will remain a major landmark in the history of Kannada science writing. The two bulky volumes which constitute the Science Section alone contain more than 50 articles relating to a variety of scientific topics contributed by a large number of science writers. These volumes revealed that science writing in Kannada had now come of age and so a decision was taken by the University to start *Vijnana Karnataka*, a sister journal entirely devoted to science. This Quarterly has already completed three years of fruitful service and is now entering the fourth year of its existence.

During the last ten years, science writing in Kannada has grown enormously and has acquired appreciable stature. In addition to *Vijnana Karnataka* and *Vijnana Bharathi*, recently started by the Karnatak University on similar lines, a monthly journal known as *Vijnana Loka* is being published for the last six years by the Vijnana Sangha of Srinivasanagar in South Kanara. This monthly which is the product of the efforts of a private organisation is naturally modest in size and in scope. But it is significant that a monthly journal entirely devoted to science has been able to complete six years of its life and is going strong. In addition to these journals, all the popular dailies, weeklies and monthlies are publishing numerous scientific articles. During the last two or three decades, there has been a wind of change in the editorial thinking of Kannada periodicals—not excluding dailies. A feeling has been generated that a scientific article is a 'must' in any special issue they plan, including the Weekly Supplements.

One thing is clear from all that has been said above. The general public is now conscious of the truth that science is something which concerns them and not a thing meant only for the specialists. Men of science in our state have come to realise that science writing in Kannada is the thing to do. But it is also true that while science writing has been growing in volume, improvement in quality has not kept pace with it. Still there is room for optimism when one realises that, in infancy, certain annoyances like teething trouble are unavoidable and shall be outgrown in course of time.

Dr. SRIKANTHA SASTRI—
THE MAN AND HIS WORKS

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Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri—A Biographical Sketch

P. N. N. MURTHY

It was in the year Krodhi of Saka 1826, on the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Asvija, corresponding to 1904 A.D., November 5, on the auspicious day of the festival of Dipavali, popularly called *nirutumbuva habba*, 'the day of water storing' for the sacred bath on the next day, that Srikantha was born to Seshamma and Ramaswami Sastry at Nanjangud. Srikantha was the second son to his father who had, in all, seven children, four sons and three daughters. The plump child, however, grew rather unattended since, within a year of his birth, his mother had another son. The boy once had an attack of small pox and unfortunately, since he had not been vaccinated, it affected his left eye and ear. Right from those years of his childhood, Srikantha had to rely mostly on the right eye. Often he used to have terrible eye-sores, so terrible that he could not perceive even an elephant until it came near!

The boy grew up under the loving care of his grandmother. Sri Ramaswami Sastri was a government servant in the then native state of Mysore and naturally was being transferred from place to place, from Nanjangud to Mysore, Bangalore and Chikkaballapur. While at Chikkaballapur Smt. Seshamma passed away, leaving behind the young ones, the last daughter being just 2 years old. The last boy—the seventh—had died a little earlier, six children now surviving. The boys had just entered the teens and they appeared for and passed in the lower secondary examination at Chikkaballapur in 1915. It was here that the brothers spent some pleasant years together, climbing the Nandi hills, going to Chitravati tank and also receiving lessons in wrestling. This last was a pas time Srikantha kept up for several years thereafter, attending *garadis*—wrestling schools—at Chikkaballapur, Kolar and Bangalore.

At school, young Srikantha developed interest in the study of languages—Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu, besides English. Telugu classics and English literature interested him. While in Kolar, in 1918, the *upanayanam* of Srikantha was performed and he used to perform *agnikarya* everyday, being trained by his uncle Sondekoppa Venkatesha Sastri. Sondekoppa in Nelamangala Taluk was the village to which his family originally belonged.

Srikantha Sastri belongs to a very illustrious family, his ancestor, Yajnambhatta of Akshantalavamsa, and Kasyapa-gotra, being a scholar in the court of Immadi Kempegowda. He was the recipient of a gift of land at Sondekoppa granted by that chief. On the maternal side, his mother was the grand-daughter of Motaganahalli Samba Sastri of Bharadvaja-gotra, Vellala-vamsa. His maternal grandfather Mahadeva Sastri, a Telugu pandit, wrote occasional verses on the then Maharaja, the Sringeri Swami etc. His younger brothers Sankara Sastri and Ramasesha Sastri were palace Vidwans. Together they used to perform *harikathas*. Later, Ramasesha Sastri prepared the word by word Kannada translation of *Srimad Bhagavata* during 1913–1932. The *Karnataka Mudrarakshasa*, *Mukundananda Bhana* etc., were his other works. To most of these works Srikantha Sastri wrote historical introductions between 1932–35. The translation of *Bhagavata* was published in 12 volumes under the title *Sri Bhagavata Mahapurana*. Motaganahalli Sankara Sastri was a great Kannada play-wright and wrote several dramas for the dramatic companies.

Sastri appeared for the S.S.L.C. examination while at Kolar and passed with first class marks in History and Economics. In 1919 his father retired and settled down in Bangalore. With a bare fifty rupees which he received as pension he had to maintain himself, celebrate the marriages of his daughters and educate his sons. The lands they owned at Sondekoppa yielded very little, the tenant taking a major share of the produce. It was under such circumstances that young Srikantha moved over to Mysore. By then his right eye had developed acute short sight and was corrected only after he came to Mysore. At Bangalore he had passed in the University Entrance Examination and he joined the B.A. course in the Maharaja's College, Mysore.

In the Maharaja's College, N. S. Subbarao was his teacher of Economics while H. Krishnarao and S. V. Krishnaswami Iyengar taught Greek History and Politics respectively, J. C. Rollo and H. Nanjundaiah, English and B. Krishnappa, Kannada. While in the final year, B. M. Srikanthayya became his teacher in English and V. L. D'Souza taught him Economics. Even while in school Sastri had composed several verses in English which later 'B. M. Sri' had an occasion to see and exclaim in the class 'you have a poet with you'. He had also taken to writing articles. In the University Historical Association he read a paper on 'Sivaganga' ; on 'Kannada Nagananda' in the Karnataka Sangha ; on 'Dhvani' in the Sanskrit Association. Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah, Prof. S. V. Venkateswara who was then the Professor and Head of the Department of History, Prof. Hiriyanna, S. V. Ranganna and the like not only presided on these occasions and participated in the discussions but also exhorted

the young man to take to intensive studies and research. He passed the B.A. examination in II class and preferred to specialise in History for the M.A. degree under Prof. S. V. Venkateswara. Dr. R. Shama Sastri and Dr. M. H. Krishna gave lectures on Archaeology and B. Krishnappa and A. R. Krishna Sastri on the History of Kannada Literature. Such giants of learning naturally inspired the young Sastri, who spent most of his time ransacking the shelves of the library. He had an opportunity to study the grant of Immadi Kempegowda donating lands to his maternal ancestor and this aroused in him a curiosity to delve into the past with a critical eye.

The result was his paper 'Conquests of Siladitya in the South' which had the rare distinction of being published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* in July 1926. This was the first ever article of an Indian student in his twenties to be published in a journal of international repute. It created a great flutter in the College and encouraged the young scholar to write another paper, this time on Devaraya II. This was published in the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Modern Review*. The second article convinced Prof. Venkateswara of the capabilities of Sastri and he marked him out for a Research Scholarship in Karnataka History. Later, after his M.A., Sastri appeared for the F.C.S. Examination and got through also creditably, but was disqualified on medical grounds.

In 1927–28 a Research Scholarship of the value of Rs. 75 a month for working on the sources of Karnataka history was created for a period of one year and Sastri was appointed for the same, under Prof. Venkateswara. The work was completed after one year, in 1928, and submitted to the Professor. Venkateswara wanted him to write out the sources not only in Devanagari, but also in Kannada, Telugu and Roman. Unfortunately, the manuscript had to be prepared by him thrice. It was almost a decade later, in 1938–39, that Sri N. S. Subba Rao, the Vice-chancellor, once again urged upon Sastri to prepare yet another manuscript, after its being 'lost' twice and finally it was published in 1940. Appreciations of this work flowed in and the Vice-chancellor was proud of his 'find'. It had the privilege of being reviewed by Dr. Barnett in the pages of *J.R.A.S.*

In June 1930 he was appointed as Tutor in History in the Maharaja's College and became a Lecturer in 1935. When the Honours course was started Sastri engaged the Kannada Honours classes to which he taught Karnataka History and Culture. In fact, it is one of the rare achievements of Prof. Sastri that right from those days till his retirement, with a very little break of about one year, he engaged these classes. Thus, all students of Kannada Honours classes came into close contact with this Professor whose

knowledge and depth of scholarship astounded and endeared them. For the history Honours, and M.A. classes he taught several subjects like Ancient Indian History, Bibliography of Ancient India, Indus civilization, special subjects like Mauryas, Guptas, Harsha and his times etc. Almost all the lecturers, readers and professors in Kannada in the Mysore and Bangalore Universities, including Prof. D. Javaregowda, the present Vice-chancellor, and all the three Professors and Heads of Departments of History of the three Universities in the State today, besides a host of scholars holding high positions in their career, have had the privilege of being his students.

By 1935 the learned Professor had written the historical introduction to the *Karnataka Bhagavata* and other works of his grandfather. Several articles of his had been published in the Kannada news papers. But his studies in history and culture led him deeper and deeper into research work. He prepared two more volumes of *Sources of Karnataka History* which, unfortunately, have remained unpublished till today. He wrote a series of articles on the *Iconography of Sri Vidyarnava-tantra* in the *Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society* which was later, in 1944, published in the form of a bookt Likewise came his *Gangas of Talakad* in 1952. But he took to writ. ing in Kannada and when the University thought of publishing Tex-books in Kannada, he wrote in Kannada the *Outlines of World History* (ಪ್ರಪಂಚ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯ ರೂಪರೇಖೆಗಳು–I edition in 1957). This book has run into four editions and is even today one of the best books in Kannada on the subject, although several books by different authors have since been published. His book on *Archaeology* (ಪುರಾತತ್ತ್ವ ಶೋಧನೆ) came out in 1960; six years earlier, in 1954 his *Indian Culture* (ಭಾರತೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ) had been published. Then came, in 1966, his *Hoysala Architecture* (ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ವಾಸ್ತುಶಿಲ್ಪ). These three books are, in one sense, his master-pieces. His book, *History of the Roman empire* (ರೋಮನ್ ಚಕ್ರಾಧಿಪತ್ಯದ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ) was, however, published in 1948-49 itself.

Besides, he published, on his own, *The Proto Indic Religion* connected with the Indus civilization in 1942. This book was reviewed by Dr. S. K. Iyengar, who said "one problem of the utmost importance was the study of the finds from the point of view of the religion—the early primitive religion and Mr. Sastri seems to be very well qualified for attempting this task systematically." Another review appeared in the *Madras Mail*. The reviewer had described this as "a mass of detailed learning. Even for specialists it is perhaps too learned. This kind of careful, solid, objective study is a credit to Indian scholarship." He critically edited the Hebbata grant of Ganga Durvinita in the pages of the *Mythic Society Journal* and availed of the opportunity to write on the vexed problem of the genealogy and chronology of *The Gangas of Talakad*

in 1952.

To return to biography. While he was in the I year of the M.A. class he was married, in 1925, at Bellary. His father-in-law hailed from Uravakonda. Smt. Nagaratnamma is his wife. Their first child, a son, born in August 1932, did not live long. It was only thereafter that Srikantha Sastri set up a house in Mysore. He is blessed with five children—two daughters, Smt. Balamba and Smt. Suvarna, both of them happily married to Sri P. R. Sitaramiah and Sri A. Srinivasamurthy respectively, and three sons Vijayasankara, Naganatha and Manjunatha. There was yet another son, Ramaswami born in 1935. But he was suffering from heart disease from childhood and unfortunately passed away in 1953, when he was 17 years old. This came as a shock to the Professor who however withstood it boldly.

Only twice was he transferred from Mysore, once to Shimoga and later to Davanagere. Meanwhile, a collection of all his essays and publications were submitted to the University for the award of a D.Litt. degree. Dr. Radhakumud Mukherji, one of the experts to whom these were sent for opinion, said that a D.Litt. was after all a meagre recognition of the enormous work done by Sastri. It was in 1954 that Dr. Sastri became the Professor and Head of the Department of History, when Dr. K. V. Puttappa, the poet-laureate was the Vice-chancellor. He held this position till 12th November 1960 on which day he retired from service. He had spent 32 years as a member of the staff of Maharaja's College.

But he had physically suffered a great deal before his retirement. In 1958 he was stricken with high blood pressure and paralysis of the left limbs. For 3 months he was hospitalised in the K. R. Hospital. He had also been a victim of Eczema, a few years earlier, resulting in the legs occasionally swelling. Already his left eye and ear had become useless. These physical ailments probably gave him more strength of mind. Disappointments in material life made him rise to great heights in his scholarship and develop a stubborn love for truth. It was knowledge and more knowledge that gave him pleasure and peace of mind.

He not only had an abundant store of knowledge; but a special gift of influencing those that came into closer contact with him, although such were very few. The great Kannada novelist, late Sri A. N. Krishnarao was one of those whom he inspired to write historical novels. He has expressed his debt of gratitude to the learned professor who guided him through the labyrinth of facts in writing a series of novels connected with the history of Vijayanagara. Likewise, there is the other novelist, T. R. Subba Rao who owes him a great deal in his writings.

Students, there have been quite a number. Perhaps the most prominent of them is Sri Y. G. Krishnamurthi, who is in the Nepat

Royal Service and has been awarded the title *Gurkha Dakshinabahu* by the late king Mahendra. Many of his writings were due to the inspiration and guidance he received from Dr. Sastri. During the II World War, one night, in 1941, broadcasting over the German Radio, Dr. Goebels, the Nazi, declared "Dr. Srikantha Sastri and Dr. Radhakrishnan have condemned the British rule in India." This Sastri had done in his introduction to *Independent India and New World Order* of Y.G.K. The British Government in India suddenly woke up to know more about Sastri. The police in Mysore city made some enquiries but kept silence.

This would show that Dr. Sastri was a seeker of Truth, which is the foremost aim of a true historian. He had not hesitated to criticise Mahatma Gandhi over his selection of a candidate for the presidency of the Indian National Congress. This was in an article published in the commemorative volume of the Haripur Congress Session in 1939. Likewise in his preface to the book *Indian States and Federal Plan* he questioned the sovereignty of the then Native State of Mysore which infuriated the loyal courtiers.

His basic desire to go to the sources made Dr. Sastri learn a number of languages—German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, French and ancient languages like Pali, Greek, Latin, Egyptian, Assyrian, Hittite and Sumerian. His desire to decipher the Indus script made him study the Cuneiform and Hittite scripts. Of course, Sanskrit, Telugu, Kannada and Tamil he knew well.

Today he is greatly handicapped physically. But his desire to learn and to unlearn has been great. Many are his works that still remain unpublished. Yet he says he is only a student.

May God bestow upon him health and long life.

The Votary of Truth

S. ANANTHANARAYANA

A Personal Note :

In Sanskrit there is the word ಏಕಸಂಧಿಗ್ರಾಹಿ-एकसंधिग्राहि-which denotes a learner who takes in everything at the very first hearing and reading. Such people, though rare, have been always there. Dr. S. Srikantha Sastry belongs to this category of people blessed with a mind that grasps everything worthwhile even at first sight. He has a phenomenal memory which enables him to remember and quote passages after passages without a single mistake or moment's hesitation. "My memory feeds me and sustains me in my life's work" is what he said to me once. Genius is said to consist of very hard work. Dr. Sastry works very hard and has an emotional and imaginative understanding of what he works on. Added to his unique memory and capacity to take in all material at the first glance, it has given him a vast range of achievement. The wide sweep of knowledge reaped by him is astounding. Knowing more than 15 languages in and out, contributing more than 400 research papers on a wide and varied range of subjects and the writing of a score of scholarly books on History, Archaeology, Music, Literature and such other subjects is really monumental. Dr. Sastry's work is the greatest monument to Dr. Sastry's own life.

I have been twice blessed that I have known Dr. Srikantha Sastry ever since 1941 and he has showered his affection on me all these years. In those days when we lived in the same street in Mysore, near the college, I had just joined the Maharaja's College as a student. I used to see him—with a graphite grey coat, check trousers, a whitish round face slightly pock-marked, and short hair parted in the middle. He always wore brown canvas shoes and it appeared as if he dragged his left foot as he walked rather fast even for us.

During the 1942 August movement for the Freedom of the country, as one of the members of the staff, Dr. Sastry was supposed to be pitted against the students. As a student leader, I met him once or twice then and realised the great national fervour of this man. In fact he had got into trouble with the authorities as Hitler had used Dr. Sastry's name in one of the broadcasts from Berlin, as a man who condemned British imperialism in India. I could give

many examples of the help he gave us at the time sheltering us and giving us advice.

Personally he is as friendly and as easy as a child--but as a scholar he is vehement and sometimes even violent in his beliefs, uninhibited by false modesty or mock humility. When he joined the I year B.A., in the Maharaja's College Mysore, he was already famous for his scholarly articles on history published in the 'Modern Review', Historical Journal and other scholarly publications—articles with erudition and compelling scholarly research. One of his classmates of that time, Sri K. S. Murthy, related to me this anecdote of those days—Prof S. V. Venkateshwara was the Professor of history. Srikantha Sastry had already been known as Prof. Srikantha Sastry though he was a student of the I year B.A.! Prof. Venkateshwara came to the class for the first time and the first thing he asked was 'There is one Srikantha Sastry here—who is that person ?' The frail short boy stood up—Prof. Venkateshwara's voice was overflowing with respect, admiration and pride as he said "I would like to know you better, Sastry. I have read your articles and it is my privilege to know you.". Later he requested Srikantha Sastry to meet him and it was a very fruitful friendship—as it was the beginning of the work on "Sources of Karnataka History." Another anecdote of that period shows Srikantha Sastry's sense of wry humour and affection for his friend. One of his classmates who did not know the translation of the world 'Pleasure Palace' asked Sastry during a class test in a whisper "Sastry, what is the Kannada translation for Palace of Pleasure ?" Sastry whispered loud enough to be heard by half the class—"You are always to be seen there—eating and drinking--gorging yourself with eatables. Don't you know that hotel which is your home ?" The class laughed loudly at this—Ananda Bhavan was the famous hotel of Mysore at the time!

Dr. Sastry's childlike innocence is proverbial. But he is very stubborn, almost like a child, in his attitude to certain things. He expresses his opinion clearly, boldly and unmindful of how others may construe it. He has never insulted truth for fear of offending men. His faith in History and historical truth have never been cramped by the need of the hour, to be twisted to the whims and fancies of those in power. In fact his vehement attachment to truth and stubborn refusal to toe the whimsicalities of the small men in power has brought a lot of petty troubles on his head. But his head stands high and far above such pettiness and he has never cowed down to any of these. He is not cramped by the false admiration of people who flatter without reading a single line nor is he circumscribed by those who condemn without even trying to understand. He merely says that many people do not have any conviction or courage—and it is their own weakness that affects them—that

will in no way affect his work as he ignores their diatribes against him. Dr. Sastry is an embodiment of this courage born out of conviction, the courage to face any criticism which is honest and well-informed. A brush with such criticism will produce more sparks of truth ! Dr. Sastry shows an artist's pride of achievement undefiled by petty considerations of what might satisfy popular clamour or uninhibited by what the powers that be like or not, or undiluted by prejudices. He is violent and assertive in his opinions as he should be, but amenable to change if proved wrong by arguments based on truth. Far be it from me, with all my respect and admiration for Dr. Sastry, to claim that he is infallible. He has committed mistakes both of interpretation and analysis—but one thing is true—he does not compromise with sloppiness of work, shoddy and indifferent attitudes, prejudiced research meant only for satisfying a jaundiced conscience and halfbaked ideas that stick like glue and do not become crisp. He is aloof—but this aloofness is because he is 'ಹಿಂಡನಗಲಿದ ಗಜ'—like a he-elephant that has forsaken the herd and gone far ahead. The others do not have the stamina to catch up with him. His path is the path of truth—and I may say that he is *par excellence the Votary of Truth.*

At best my words would only inadequately describe his attitude to history, and his own words would certainly speak more authentically and have greater value. So I went to Dr. Sastry and requested him to permit me to interview him. He is almost bed-ridden with a partial paralytic stroke immobilising him. Still he was kind enough to speak to me. One thing I observed during the interview just struck me as marvellous : the fact is that history and historical research are not merely dry subjects of study for Dr. Sastry. They are interests of life to him, they are a passion and excite him to pinnacles of great joy. In fact here and there as he spoke of some interesting aspect of research, he got so excited that words became incoherent, unable to bear the full impact of the happiness he feels so deeply when he has made a point in history. Truly he is a Rasarishi, reaching a state of ANANDA in his passion for history. At those moments when his excitement was very great I would stop the taperecorder giving him a little respite. He would rest for a while on my insistence and then the interview would proceed.

I would be failing in courtesy if I do not record here my gratitude to his wife and his sons who gave me all help in recording him. Dr. Sastry's own stamina in speaking without any notes, for almost four hours is astounding. His memory is phenomenal, as he has at the tip of his tongue everything that is relevant. His mind is like a well-furnished room with everything in place and impressively beautiful in its proper arrangement. Nothing is obstructive and nothing is

obtrusive, but all fall pat into the pattern set by his mind. I here express my gratitude to Dr. Sastry for having taken all the trouble even in his immobile state to elucidate the points raised by me. To be with him is itself an education, to talk with him is to gain knowledge and to listen to him is to see history really being enacted before your very eyes. I can only pray that his blessings should make us worthy of calling ourselves his friends and disciples.

The Interview :

S. Anantha Narayana (S. A. N.) : Dr. Sastry, I am grateful to you for permitting me to interview you. I request you to be kind enough to tell us something of your parents, your childhood interests and influences.

Dr. S. Srikantha Sastry (S. S. S.) : In my early life what influenced me was my heredity and my ancestry, leading me towards a study of history. My father Sri Ramaswamy Sastry of Sondekoppam was a Sub-Registrar in Nanjangud in 1904, where I was born in the shadow of the Srikanteswara temple in 1904. My mother, Srimati Seshamma also belonged to a great family. My grandmother on the father's side used to be a repositary of family traditions and she often recited many poems and *slokas*, many verses and other compositions. As a small boy I listened to these compositions and asked her who were the composers of these. She used to reply that these were all compositions of our ancestors.

When I grew up a little I wanted to preserve these ancestral compositions in writing. Therefore in the evenings I used to sit beside her as she recited the verses and the *slokas* and *kirtanas*. I recorded them in writing. Even now I have kept a record of all those compositions as far as humanly possible. I am, I think, the only living repositary of all these family traditions in our clan.

My mother Seshamma was a descendent of a very illustrious family. Her great remote ancestor was one Abhinava-Kalidasa who flourished as a court poet in the reign of Immadi Devaraya of Vijayanagara. He has written the *Bhagavata Champu*. That *Bhagavata* tradition has come down to me through my mother, and also through my mother's uncle, Sri Ramasesha Sastry. He has translated the entire *Bhagavata* from Sanskrit, all the 12 *Skandas* in 12 books. He has also written the *Mudrarakshasa Nataka* and the *Mukundananda Bhana* in Kannada. It fell to my happy lot to write the historical introductions to these works. When he had finished the translations, he asked me to write the historical introductions. I thought it my good fortune to handle these things and I wrote the introductions both in Kannada and in English. These were published in 1930–32 in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* of Calcutta and the *Modern Review* and various other Journals throughout the world. These

articles attracted a large attention throughout the world. Prof. Keith of Edinburgh University, who has written upon Sanskrit Drama, accepted my date for Visakhadatta, the author of *Mudrarakshasa*. The other article on *Mukundananda Bhana* was also translated to various languages. I may claim that still my grand-uncle's translation is the best and nobody has equalled it. Not only on my father's side, famous for its *Sastras* and *Tarka*, but also on my mother's side which was famous for its *Sahitya*, poetic concepts and compositions, I have hereditary qualities and instincts which, I may say, educated and urged me to take up historical research.

S.A.N.: How did you start on historical research ?

S.S.S.: Firstly I started with the history of the Kempegowdas. Yajnam Bhatta, my remote ancestor on my father's side, received a grant of land from the Second Kempegowda at Sondekoppam in the Nelamangala Taluk of Bangalore District. There was a grant lying in the house both on copperplate and on *olegari* (Palmleaf) which I tried to decipher, and ascertain the lands that were given. So my curiosity in history started with the Palaigars, i.e. the Kempegowdas of Bangalore. Naturally I extended my historical studies to the whole of Karnataka because you cannot study Palaigar history in isolation. It must be studied in relation to other Imperial dynasties also. So when I came to the Maharaja's College in 1922, I wrote a research paper on Sivaganga near Nelamangala where my ancestral lands are situated. I traced the history of the place and delivered a lecture in the Maharaja's College on the subject. Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah was kind enough to preside over the lecture and made very encouraging remarks. After the article on Sivaganga was published in certain journals, I took up the study of the history of Karnataka.

I started work on Immadi Devaraja, the patron of my ancestor, Abhinava Kalidasa and wrote upon him in the *Modern Reveiw* and the *Indian Antiquary*. Then I proceeded to the whole of Vijayanagara history. Going back to the ancient history of India, I found that there were a number of inconsistencies and absurdities perpetrated by so-called historians. I have always advocated independent thinking on the basis of heuristics or the study of original documents. Then only can there be scientific history.

In 1923 when I was a student of the Junior M.A. class in the Maharaja's College my Professor, S. V. Venkateshwara had an interview with the then Vice-chancellor, Sir Brajendranath Seal. It seems (the late) Maharaja Nalvadi Krishnaraja Wodeyar had a talk with Sir B. N. Seal and asked him why the Mysore University should not work upon Mysore history. Sir B. N. Seal conveyed this wish of the Maharaja to my Professor and suggested that the work might be done. Venkateshwara, of course, did not know much of Kannada and therefore he was on the lookout for a likely candidate to do the

historical research on Mysore. He sent for me and asked me if I would be prepared to work on the project. I said, "Sir, it is very good of you to ask me to work upon Mysore history. But I would like to suggest that Mysore is a very narrow sphere and you might extend the scope to cover the whole of Karnataka and I will work on the Sources of Karnataka History". He said 'All right, go on' and kindly encouraged me. Then I drew up a plan of 12 volumes of fundamental sources. First of all foundational fundamental sources should be collected and evaluated properly and then real history could be built upon it. Therefore a special research scholarship for the first time in the history of the Mysore University was created and granted to me for working on the Sources of Karnataka History.

In my plan for the work I suggested 12 volumes, the first volume to deal with the sources from the earliest times to about 1200 A.D. In the second volume, it was proposed, the later history of the Hoysalas should be included. In the III volume the Vijayanagara period should be covered while the IV volume would deal with the Palaigars. In the V volume Hyder and Tippu and others would be taken up. So onwards I prepared the plan. There was my friend Chandrasekhara Sastry who was asked to work upon the Hoysala period, in the II volume. But unfortunately he passed away before he could finish his work. Though he had done some substantial work, all that was lost. Another friend Sri N. Subba Rao was entrusted with the work on the Palaigars in the III volume. But his work came to nothing at all. My own work, the I volume of the Sources of Karnataka History covering a period of about 1200 years was submitted to the Mysore University in 1928. Dr. Brajendranath Seal went away at that time. Afterwards McAlpine, Metcalffe and many other Vice-chancellors came and went. None of them had any interest in this work. Meanwhile I had to suffer this also that the manuscript was stolen by some interested persons. I do not wish to spell their names. I wrote the manuscript twice and it was stolen both times. When N. S. Subbarao became the V.C. he immediately sent word to me because he knew the work that I had done. He told me "Sastry, don't be disheartened. You again write the *Sources of Karnataka History* and I will see that it is published." Then I wrote the manuscript the third time as N. S. Subbarao had asked me and submitted it to him. And it was published by the University 12 years later. The University took twelve years, imagine! The first volume was released in 1940. Immediately after the book was published Sir Mirza Ismail the then Dewan of Mysore wrote a letter of congratulations to the University and the author, i.e. myself on the fine work. R. C. Majumdar of the Dacca University, P. K. Gode of the Poona University and many other eminent scholars wrote that this Source book on Karnataka History was a model for all

historians in India. Until then much regard had not been paid to the heuristic method, the documentary method of the study of original sources. But in my book I have used the sources of Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, Kannada, Telugu, Marathi, Portugese and other languages, connected with the Karnataka region. The Greek sources were edited with reference to the British Museum authorities. The Latin sources were translated by me myself for the sake of satisfactory translation. A knowledge of Sanskrit was essential for the study of Sanskrit sources. Literary records had to be investigated, ponderous volumes had to be digested and the essential historical materials had to be culled out. That immense labour took me nearly a year and then I wrote the book. When it was published it was hailed by one and all. R. R. Diwakar, Mohare Hanumantha Rao and such other Karnataka leaders and many All-India scholars sent letters of appreciation. Now I hear that the University proposes to print the second edition of the old first volume. But what about the II and III and further volumes ?

Until all the sources are investigated and published thoroughly there can never be a scientific history of Karnataka. Now Mysore is gone ; what I had predicted almost fifty years ago has come about now. Now we are entering upon the period of Karnataka. It is now that the University or the Government or some public body should take up the task of collecting all the sources first and then bring out the whole history of Karnataka in 10 or 12 volumes.

S. A. N. : What were the methods you adopted in collating the source material ?

S. S. S. : In collating the sources I had first of all to go thoroughly into all the aspects of a work and then study it with a look at the political implications contained in the volume. For example, Sankaracharya's works and *Bhashyas* are published every where and many mythological stories have grown up around him. But really what does history say ? That is what is of importance to the historian. In the *Brahmasutrabhashya* and also in the *Chhandogyopanishad-bhashya* there are certain political allusions. These political allusions had to be taken out, and commented upon. Rajavarma, Purnavarma and others are mentioned by Sankaracharya as if they were contemporaries. He says इतो बलवर्माणं, ततो जयसिंहं, तथः कृष्णगुप्तं When you go from one country to another first comes the country of Balavarma, then comes the land of Jayasimha and then comes the kingdom of Krishnagupta. All these kings were contemporaries and their territories lay side by side. That is what Sankara says. Also look at this : यथा पूर्णवर्मण देवभक्त परिदान फलाः । राजवर्मणतस्तु राजतुल्यफला इति ॥

Purnavarma is a small king, he can give you only a small thing as a gift, food or clothing ; but Rajavarma can give you a *Rajya*, a

kingdom itself. Therefore, if you worship small deities you will get only proportionately small benefits. If you wish for big things you must aim at bigger deities, and to gain the highest you must go to the highest. Such examples are given in large numbers by Sankara. These we cannot dismiss as mere fables. They are contained as part of the *Bhashya* but no commentator of Sankara has raised this point, in the last two thousand years. But this has its historical interest for me. So in every work that I studied, whether in philosophy or logic or literary creation, I have always looked out for historical clues and references.

S. A. N.: Did you find any references to Karnataka and Kannada in Greek literature ?

S. S. S.: In my *Sources of Karnataka History* in the very beginning itself I have given an extract from what is called the Oxyrinchus Papyri, a work of about the second century A.D. which was discovered in Egypt. In this work there are certain allusions to a certain Maalpe, i.e., Malpi near Udipi and also to a king of the Karnataka country. There are some references to another nearby place called Soma Oomeshara probably Someshwara near Udipi. The farce deals with certain episodes in the life of a Greek woman who is shipwrecked on the coast of Udipi. Now the great question is what were the Greek affinities to Karnataka in the second century A.D., the earliest reference we have in Greek literature about this part of our country ?

S. A. N.: Manjeshwar Govind Pai has said that there are Kannada words in this Greek Drama. Do you agree with his opinion ?

S. S. S.: Govinda Pai was a great scholar. He is dead now and in courtesy I do not wish to controvert him. But he has given his own opinion and his own interpretation. I do not agree with it. What he has said on that does not agree with the Greek originals. From the British Museum I obtained the original manuscript and studied it. In my book I have given the original exactly as it is. Some references might be there and local references might be interpreted and taken as authoritative, but that would be wrong. We cannot say that the Kannada of that period was like that. We have got stone inscriptions which prove that Kannada had become well-developed by the 4th century A.D. There is a vast difference between the so-called Kannada of the Oxyrinchus Papyri and the Kannada of the stone inscriptions.

For the study of Histoty, Archaeology, Epigraphy, Numismatics and other sources, along with literary evidences, must be taken. Take any period of Karnataka history. We have got a lot of controversy about Basaveswara and about Ramanujacharya and others. Now we have to face all these questions purely from the inscriptional point of view. When there is a stone inscription or

any other inscription, nobody can challenge it. The very first thing we have to face is that of miracles. Basaveswara, in a number of mythological stories created around him, is supposed to have worked many miracles. But what are the historical realities, I ask. Was he the contemporary of one Bijjala ? If so, who is that Bijjala ? There are many persons of the name Bijjala. There is a Surya Bijjala, a Sunga Bijjala and another Bijjala in the inscriptions of that period. What is the earliest inscriptional reference to Basava ? It is called the Arjunawada inscription, which I myself edited for the first time in the *Epigraphia Indica.* In that inscription we find a descendent of Basava being given a gift of land by Krishna the Yadava Emperor. The date of that inscription is one century later than the date usually assigned to Basava. So Basava's date has to be dragged down. The traditional date, therefore, cannot be accepted. I know by this I have raised a great controversy among the Veerasaivas and also among the Jainas.

I have raised another controversy among the Jainas about the Gommateswara image. When was the Sravanabelagola Gommata image raised ? When was it constructed and by whom ?

S. A. N: It is said that Chavundaraya had it done.

S. S. S: The inscription there says ಚಾವುಂಡರಾಯಂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿದಂ ! I ask —ಏನು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದಂ ?

S. A. N: ಚಾವುಂಡರಾಯಾ ಕರವಿಯಲೇ in Marathi.

S. S. S: It is there in Tamil also. What did he actually do ? Did he actually get the whole image sculpted in the round and get it erected and establish it ? But the Jaina tradition says that the image existed long before Chavundaraya. It is said that Sri Rama came there and drew the image of Gomateshwara with his arrow, this being one traditional story told there, in Sravanabelagola. All the traditions there say that the Gommata image existed there long before Chavundaraya. Chavundaraya's date we know very well, because he was the contemporary of the Ganga king Rachamalla ; he has written Chavundaraya Purana, Trishashthi Purana and many Kannada and Sanskrit verses. I have mentioned all these in my Sources. It is of interest that there is an inscription at Hanasoge, Chikkahanasoge, in which there is a record of about 910 A.D. in the time of the Ganga King Yerega. This says ಕಲ್ಲೆಲೆದೇವಂ ಜಂಗಮತೀರ್ಥಂ ! ಸ್ಥಾವರತೀರ್ಥಂ ಗೊಮ್ಮಟದೇವಂ. What is the permanent Teertha ? The Gommatadeva, that must be the Gommata image itself. Jangama Teertha is what is wandering about i.e., Kallele Deva a certain Saint. I showed up this inscription and said that there is a record of the Gommata image even in 910 A.D. Various dates like 980 and even 1020 A.D., are assigned to the Gommata image. But all these dates do not stand. In this way for every Karnataka tradition we must go to inscriptional sources.

S. A. N: You mentioned Ramanujacharya....

S. S. S: So also about Ramanujacharya, many stories are told. The usual story is that he came to Mysore and converted a Jaina king called Bittiga or Bittideva, who became known as Vishnuvardhana. There is only a literary tradition about this and many mythological stories have been constructed and even novels written nowadays. But what do the inscriptions show ? They show that he was neither a Jaina nor a Srivaishnava ; on the other hand he was a follower even unto his last days of the old ancestral Vedic religion but he was widely tolerant. He has given about 60% of the grants to Siva temples, and only 20% to Vaishnava temples. He has given 20% to Jaina temples also. If he had been converted to Vaishnavism by Ramanuja, he would not have accepted *prasadam* from a Jaina Basti that was established in Halebid, the Parsvanatha Basti. When the priests came with the *prasadam* he accepted it devoutly and as his son was born at the same time he called him Vijaya Parsvanatha. Thus he was follower of not only Saivism, but also of Vaishnavism and Jainism. In fact his wife Santala, about whom many stories and very many novels have been told and written, was like him a follower of (ಚತುಸ್ಸಮಯ) Chatussamaya—i.e., of Saivism, Vaishnavism, Jainism and Buddhism. All these four tenets existed in those days, and she has given gifts and donated equally to all the four denominational temples. Naturally she ended her days only in Sivaganga. Why ? Sivaganga was a famous place of Saiva worship. It was also a Jaina centre and people have ignored this aspect of it. Many stories are told that she fell down the sides of a crag on the hills and committed suicide. Suicide is the most heinous of all crimes and Santala could not have done it. She fell and threw herself into the Patalaganga in Sivaganga. Jainas have what is called *Sallekhanavrata* which is quite different from suicide. At the time of famine or great disease, life is almost hopeless. Then these people take an oath, a vow of not taking any food at all. They gradually give up solid food and then liquid food and finally starve themselves, so to say. That is *Sallekhanavrata* which is entirely different in its very concept from suicide.

Naturally my conclusions have been attacked by many people, but I am not unduly worried about it. The historian must be like a judge. The judge sitting in the court hears both the appellant and the respondent and based on the evidence they submit delivers his judgement after mature consideration, taking in all the evidence impartially. The historian is also like the judge. Truth is more sacred to him than all the advantages of propaganda. Truth naturally must be thoroughly investigated and then finalised. All the documents should be submitted to a full and impartial, unprejudiced study, whether they are archaeological, numismatic or any other

source. I had to struggle with a large number of these as also with literary records and a vast range of inscriptions. All these are contained in the introduction to my *Sources of Karnataka History*.

S. A. N : Do you not think that controversy is conducive to the development of history, especially controversy in interpretation ?

S. S. S : Yes. Interpretations are necessary absolutely, but each may interpret things as he pleases and who is to put a check to this ? Who is to find out what is correct and what is wrong, and how ? It is on the basis only of the material evidence that they put forward that this has to be done. Let everybody test it and seek for himself who and what is right and what is wrong. That is the attitude the historian must adopt, impartiality and attachment only to material truth. Then only historical truth can stand.

An example is the Aryan problem in Indian history about which a lot of propaganda has been wrongly perpetrated by interested parties. Some have pleaded for prejudiced history. Churchill did this at the time of the National Crisis in England, when Hitler was attacking England. When the national existence itself was in danger, Churchill wanted to boost up the morale of the people by using prejudiced history. On the the other side Hitler, Goering and Goebbels were propagating Nordic superiority as if the Nordics had a special and immense right to rule over all the other races of the world. We also know how they distorted history. Similarly many people have very many different definitions of history.

S. A. N. : Napoleon said that history is the only philosophy.

S. S. S. : True, Napoleon said that history is philosophy. There is a history of philosophy as also a philosophy of history. A philosophy of history is essential for a historian. *Weltanschauung*— a world outlook must be developed by the true historian. But that comes only at a later stage of formulating history but not in the earlier discipline of heuristics or the study of original documents. Toynbee who has written 12 volumes on the study of history took all history to be a drama between nature's challenge and man's response. This is after all a partial view of history. Spengler, a great German Scholar wrote on the '*Decline of the West*' in 1914. In two volumes on the Decline of the West which are simply monumental, he made certain remarks on Indian culture which nobody in India or the Eastern World refuted or had the courage to refute. Then I took objection to that and in the *'New Era'* a journal published from Madras, I wrote critically on Spengler's views on Indian culture throwing up how many absurd statements he had made. So each person has a prejudice and wants to do propaganda for his own cause. Then that is not true history at all.

S. A. N. : What about the Aryan Question ?

S. S. S. : The Aryan Question has also been attacked by propa-

gandists. The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay has published a series of volumes on Indian History. The first volume deals with the Vedic Age. K. M. Munshi who was rather well-known to me requested me to write on the Aryans. I wrote on the problem of the Aryans making a study of all the possible evidence, archaeological, literary, astronomical and other sources and showed that the western theory that Aryans came from outside into India is substantially baseless. We have, on the other hand, enough proof and can argue that the Aryan migration was the other way round—from India to other countries. And I feel that the Aryan problem, therefore, is quite a strange thing.

S. A. N.: Bala Gangadhar Tilak speaks of the North Pole as the home of the Aryans.........

S. S. S.: Tilak was so terribly disgusted with the western theories that he said "I will derive the Aryans from the North Pole" in sheer exasperation. But in the process he distorted some Vedic passages and said that there are mentioned long nights and long days, which are possible only in the Polar region and so on. That is not critical history but only violent reaction. We have to give up all such romantic notions.

My theory is that the Aryans were natives of India. *Brahmavarta* and *Brahmarshidesa* (ब्रह्मावर्त—ब्रह्मर्षिदेश) is the country's sacred land situate between the Ganga and the Yamuna. It is the land of the Rishis who conceived the Vedas. From their habitation they then migrated westwards. Even now we have got certain verses which keep that memory. We begin the तीर्थस्तोत्राणि Teerthastotras with "इमं गंगे यमुने सरस्वती स्तोमं सुधा" and so on. We repeat it everyday. We reckon the land from the Ganga and the Yamuna and go westwards. That shows the direction of the Aryan migration towards the west. I put forward all this and other proofs and rejected the theory of the foreign origin of the Aryans, the so-called Aryan invasion and the supposed superiority of the Aryans. As a reaction and a corollary to the theory of superiority of the Aryans, there arose the Dravidian theory. The Dravidians began to assert their own superiority and claimed that Harappa and Mohenjodaro is Dravidian civilization. Harappa and Mohenjodaro of 3,000 B.C., is supposed to be Tamilian civilization! If you cannot grant that, at least it is Dravidian or Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Dravidian and so on goes on the bargaining. But I say to them that they should take the commonsense point of view. Tamil literature is about 2,000 years old. In the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. Sangam literature flourished. You people want to jump from the 2nd and 3rd century A.D., to the 3000 B.C.!

S. A. N.: But there is the poet Phoonkundran who belongs to the 1st century B.C.

S. S. S. : Even that is disputed. The date of composition of the *Kural, Tolkappiyam* and other works are also under dispute. I am giving only the historian's point of view. The *Silappadikaram*, the *Mani-mekhalai* and all Sangam classical works have been generally assigned to the 2nd and 3rd century A.D. Even if we go back to 2nd and 3rd century B.C., still there is more than 2000 years gap. How do you propose to fill it up ? That is the difficulty of the historian. It is an absolute blank and therefore the Dravidian theory is as absurd as the so-called 'Aryan Migration from outside' theory of the western scholars.

Our Aryan theory is quite different and this Aryan theory has been advocated in our Puranas and Itihasas. Our Itihasas, Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Puranas preserve our genuine historical tradition. We cannot dismiss the Puranas as mere myths, and fables and legends. They have a consistency higher than mere logical consistency, we may say. The very word,–*Itihasa* ಇತಿಹಾಸ—shows that things really existed like that in ancient times. ಇತಿ-ಹೀಗೆ, thus, ಹ-ನಿಜ ವಾಗಿ, really, ಆಸ–ಇತ್ತು, existed. That is the derivation and the meaning of the word. And similarly with the word Purana–ಪುರಾಣ—ಪುರಾ ನವಂ ಇವ—*Pura navam iva*—that is what is old has been newly described. The old tradition is renewed again and again. That is the philosophy of history according to Hindu belief.

S. A. N. : It is said that we Indians have no historical sense because we convert every story into myth· What is your comment on this ?

S. S. S. : Even Hitler has become a myth. In our own days Gandhiji has become a myth. That is because of the human tendency to exaggerate things out of proportion. This is a common weakness of all mankind.

S. A. N. : It is like Victor Hugo being worshipped as a God in parts of Vietnam.

S. S. S. : Yes, therefore the historian's duty is to investigate what the real historical facts are and then reject all such myths. There are so many about people like Ramanuja, Madhva and so on and many problems are created by these. I have refuted all these. Whether people believing in these myths become angry or not is a matter of indifference to me because I have nothing to gain from it except historical authenticity. Whether it is Ramanuja or Sankara or Basava, I insist upon historical truth first.

In my 'Bharatiya Samskriti–ಭಾರತೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ' published by the Mysore University 10 years after I submitted the manuscript to them, I have tried to refute all the myths and legends about the study of Indian History perpetrated by westerners. I have shown that the Indus Valley Civilization must be taken to be Aryan because the Aryans did not migrate into India from outside, but

they were natives and residents of this country—namely of the Harappa, Mohenjadaro and other sites which have been discovered upto Gauhati having a chacolithic civilization. This chacolithic civilization or Indus civilization extended down to Lothal on the Narmada. But below that we have no archaeological evidence of the existence and spread of this civilization. Yet some Dravidians claim that it is Dravidian civilization. About such myths and legends I have written strongly and rejected them. I have given a chronological account of the development of Indian civilization stressing various stages and authentically, authoritatively pointing out on the basis of real evidence what the salient features are of Indus civilization, of Hindu culture or Aryan culture as we can call it.

We historians are not afraid of propaganda of the interested parties or the fashions that go about. We must base our ideas on the hard facts of recorded history. In the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series on Indian History in volume 1 and in volumes 8, 9 and 10 also I have written articles on Aryan civilization, on Kannada Literature and on the History of Karnataka. Some volumes have been published and the later volumes have not yet been released. Meanwhile Sri K. M. Munshi passed away and now I do not know when the other volumes will be published—they will take their own time for it.

In these articles and others, in my study of history I have always kept up a disinterested outlook. I am not interested in doing propaganda on one side or the opposite side. I examine all the evidence that will be posited on either side and then alone have I given my judgement. In many instances they may offend popular notions. But I need not care for that. Only truth is sacred and we must always stick to it.

S. A. N.: Do you feel nowdays that there is a lot of parading and propaganda ?. . . .

S. S. S.: History has been used for propaganda not only now but in ancient times also to bamboozle the ordinary people and also for the selfish purpose of boosting the interests of some particular class or group. Karl Marx, for example, said that all history is the history of materialism. He wanted to boost communism—The Nazis wanted to establish by propaganda Aryan superiority; so also Mussolini wanted his Fascism to prevail in the world. All these used history for propaganda. So also have capitalism and many other isms in the world. But the true conception of history cannot be reached by these people as truth is the most exacting mistress. She does not permit even the slightest deviation. If you say anything contrary to the facts you will surely be punished if not now at least in the future by history! The people of the future who read your writings will laugh at you and say 'what absurdities he has written. What nonsense he has perpetrated' and so on. The true and con-

scientious historian must always safeguard his own and historical conscience.

S. A. N: The Government of India has been planning to have Indian History rewritten.

S. S. S: If the history of India or any country is rewritten on the dictates of a Government, then it will suffer the same fate, with the shortcomings of the writings of the courtflatterers of ancient days. In ancient days poets and others in the courts used to flatter their kings and represent them as Indra, Chandra, Mahendra (ಇಂದ್ರ, ಚಂದ್ರ, ಮಹೇಂದ್ರ) etc. If a Government sponsors a study of history, they must give complete liberty to the historian to speak out even unpleasant truths. However unpalatable it might be truth must be safeguarded. Then alone can we have a scientific history of India. Unfortunately even Munshi's Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Volumes suffer from this fate of prejudice. Though I am also associated with it, I must say this. When they came to deal with the plan for writing on the Indian Mutiny of the 19th century and the national movement of the 20th century in the 12th and 13th volumes, there was a complete difference of opinion. R. C. Majumdar said that the Indian Mutiny was not a national movement, but only a military revolt. Munshi, on the other hand insisted that it had to be interpreted as a national movement. So the editorial scholars split into two camps and each person wrote in his own way the history of the British period, the subsequent Indian Mutiny and so on. We have been seeing this happening again and again, and there is nothing new in this. Therefore we must be always on our guard and the historical conscience must be safeguarded at any cost. To the historian truth is most sacred.

S. A. N: From this point of view history is also a very exacting science....

S. S. S: Yes. Similarly science is also an exacting mistress. Did not Sir C. V. Raman, and other scientists show how strict they were in their self-discipline. How much of self-control and discipline they exercised. They worked on science constructively and analytically with great discipline.

S. A. N: Do you not advocate the same discipline to the historian?

S. S. S: True historical discipline is what is called heuristics, the discipline based on the study of original documents. For that knowledge of languages is necessary. For example in my *Sources of Karnataka History* Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Telugu, Marathi and other language sources are found: for the later history of India, French. Portugese, Dutch and other language sources have to be studied, The British period has been misrepresented by English historians like Smith and others. On the other hand we have also to study

what the French and other authorities have to say. Bussey, Dupleix and others were all great men from the French point of view, Clive and other men were equally great men according to the British. We, in India, have to reconstruct our own history and judge those people on the basis of what they did to our country. That is the matter of greater importance to us. Therefore we have to be and must be meticulously impartial in the study of all these documents —whatever the source may be. For this a proper knowledge of languages is absolutely necessary. And this needs a lot of discipline.

S. A. N: Do you not think that literature is a good source of history?

S. S. S: Of course. Among the basic sources of history are the archaeological evidences, monuments, inscriptions, epigraphic evidences, numismatic proof and also literary sources. These literary sources must be evaluated critically and properly, because some poets and court flatterers exaggerate the achievements of their own masters. For example we may take Tamil history and Tamil and Karnataka historical relations. In Tamil history they make much of Rajaraja Chola, Rajendra Chola and others—how they again and again invaded the Kannada country. They represent the Kannada people as very weak and cowardly, sheeplike and so on all that contemptuously. But what does Kannada literary evidence say? Ranna in the ಗದಾಯುದ್ಧ and ಅಜಿತನಾಥಪುರಾಣ (Gadayuddha and Ajithanathapurana), and many others in Kannada verses refer to Chola invasions, e.g., Jayasimha II the Chalukyan Emperor defeated the Cholas who had occupied the Chalukyan territory and drove them beyond the Cauvery river. So also Vishnuvardhana from Halebid came down and captured Talkad which was in the possession of the Cholas. For these and such other facts Tamil historians do not give any importance at all. This is very unbalanced and a very unscientific view.

S. A. N.: What are your views on the Indus Valley Script? Some Finnish and Russian scholars say it is Dravidian.

S. S. S: In 1930 itself I wrote certain articles putting forward my theory that the Indus Valley Civilization and Harappa and Mohenjadaro culture were entirely Aryan. Many scholars then were saying that Indus civilization is Indo-Sumerian—They called it Indo-Sumerian as if Sumerian had any influence or relation to it at all! Later on they detracted from this statement and Sumerian was found to have no connection with the Indus civilization. Then they thought of the ancient Egyptian civilization. In ancient Egypt they had a script and also a language. So they tried to connect the Indus civilization with ancient Egypt. Even the Rgveda was said to be an ancient Egyptian document! But even this was found baseless and was brushed aside. And then the Dravidian theory came up.

Even in 1924 one Chatterjea put forward the theory that the Harappa culture was Dravidian. Later on it was taken up by Father Heira of Bombay who stated his own interpretation of the Indus Valley script. He took up the symbol of the fish (Meena) ಮೀನ—and from there he assumed the existence of a nationality called Meenavar, ಮೀನವರ್. Similarly he had Billavar ಬಿಲ್ಲವರ್ and so on. His interpretation of Tamil was quite different from that of the Finnish scholars. Asco Parcola, Simo Parcola and Constantine and other Finnish scholars about 5 or 6 years ago put forward another theory that the Indus Script is only Dravidian and probably Tamil. Their interpretation however came into conflict with the Russian theory. In Russia, in the Leningrad Museum, Vonogrodov an eminent oriental scholar and his team of colleagues worked on a different version of the Dravidian theory. Both the Finnish and the Russian scholars used computers. But they differed in their opinions. So even in the Dravidian theory there is no unanimity, and there are several variations. As I said, these theories are baseless. Chronologically 2nd century A.D. Tamil cannot be suddenly taken back to 3000 B.C., without any intervening connection. This is really doing violence to the historical concience and chronology. Chronology should be the skeleton of history upon which should be built up blood and flesh and life put in. I have used chronology also in my theory.

My theory is that Indus Valley Civilization is Aryan. If so, then rises the question—what is the date of the Vedas, because the Aryans are intimately connected with the Vedas. Regarding the date of the Vedas also there are various theories. Westerner's theories are not usually acknowledged or generally accepted as correct. Even the most ardent of the Western scholars state that the Vedas were begun somewhere near about 1500 B.C., and finished by about 1200 B.C., According to them the Vast Vedic Literature was all composed in a period of 200 or 300 years! It is really absurd to say this! But that theory has been put forth by Maxmuller, Keith and other Western scholars who are ardent orientalists. If this date is not correct, how can we take it back even to 3000 B.C., is a simple question. There are chronological references, also astronomical references in the Rgveda, which take it back to beyond 3000 B.C. I have pointed out these also in my books and articles.

S. A. N: You have put it as 10,000 B.C., or so in your work.

S. S. S: Apart from chronological evidence, there is also cultural evidence. They, the Western scholars and some Indian scholars also, say that the Aryans did not know sea travel at all. The Dravidians, they claim, were expert seafarers and so on. But in the Rgveda itself there are passages which refer to ships with a

hundred oars· ಶತಾರಿತ್ರ, ಶತಸ್ಫ್ಯ etc. This proves that the Aryans definitely knew seatravel and they migrated from India across the sea —the Arabian Sea to Egypt and Sumeru. What was the purpose of this Aryan migration ?—It was cultural, not commercial. They wanted to make the entire world Aryan—'विश्वं आर्यं कराम' they said. This is not like the Nazi conception of Aryan domination, but the real Vedic conception of Aryan in culture. Therefore I have claimed that this civilization is Aryan.

Then the question is what kind of Aryan and what period of the Vedic times? So I examined the whole theory with reference to the script. Can it have something to do with the Rgveda? Rgveda consists of Anushtup, Trishtup, Jagathee (ಅನುಷ್ಟುಪ್, ತ್ರಿಷ್ಟುಪ್, ಜಗತೀ) and such metres. There each verse must have 18 or 15 syllables. The Indus script has only 3 or 4 syllables. Even the longest of the Indus script has only 8 syllables. So the Rgveda is excluded. In fact I have with me a lot of notes prepared by me on all these aspects!

Then can it be Yajurveda? Yajurveda is a prose work. Each sentence runs to a full page. So it cannot be Yajurveda. Can it be Samaveda (ಸಾಮವೇದ) सामवेद the third Veda? But Samaveda is only Rgveda made to chant and adapted to singing. Here in the Indus script there are no diacritical marks to indicate उदात्त अनुदात्त, स्वरित (ಉದಾತ್ತ, ಅನುದಾತ್ತ, ಸ್ವರಿತ) Udatta, Anudatta, Swaritha etc., which are essential to Sama singing. Excluding all these three Vedas, Rgveda, Yajurveda and Samaveda, what remains is only the fourth Veda—Atharvaveda (ಅಥರ್ವವೇದ) अथर्ववेद alone remains.

Atharvaveda is called the Brahmaveda ब्रह्मवेद ಬ್ರಹ್ಮವೇದ. The Rgvedic priest is called the होतृ Hotru ಹೋತೃ, the Yajurvedic priest is called the Adhwaryu अध्वर्यु ಅಧ್ವರ್ಯು, and the Samavedic priest is called the उद्गातृ Udgaatru ಉದ್ಗಾತೃ. Each one of them has got his own special and separate function in the Yajna. The Brahma ब्रह्म ಬ್ರಹ್ಮ or the Atharva Vedic priest is the superintendent of all the priests and it is his business to see that each performs his work assigned to him properly. The Atharvaveda is the Brahmaveda. It contains Charms, Magic spells, Black Magic, White Magic and so on for prosperity. But it also contains high philosophical stanzas. Atharvaveda is perhaps the oldest of the Vedas, but it was compiled later than the other Vedas. That is all the difference. So I have said that the Indus Valley civilization is that of the period of the Atharvaveda. These seals contain the charms and the spells of the Atharvaveda. They are like amulets. Even today amulets with tantric spells from the Atharvaveda are worn. So the clue to the Indus Script has to be found in the Atharvaveda which has thousands of verses. Unfortunately now my health does not permit me to go into detailed investigation of these and to verify them.

So taking all possibilities I have arrived at the conclusion that the Indus valley civilization is Aryan, the Atharvaveda is the oldest of the Vedas compiled at the last, Indus civilization represents the later phase of Aryan civilization and not the earliest. They say that the Aryans came to India only in 1200 B.C. But even in 3000 B.C., it was already late. We begin our Ithihasa from the Purana—Mahabharatha in 3100 B.C. That is the date of the Mahabharatha (Kurukshetra) war and of the beginning of Kaliyuga.

S. A. N: What is your advice to young research scholars?

S. S. S: I can conclude by saying that my whole life has been devoted to the study of truth, historical truth. I have published about 400 research papers on all aspects of Indian history and Indian culture. As far as human judgement goes, I can say that I have tried to establish certain facts. Whether in course of time they will be challenged or not is a matter of little or no concern for me. Therefore my conscience is clear. My conscience has approved only of historical facts as I find them NOW. New evidence might come up and might upset my conclusions, but that will remain to be in the future. What evidence I have collected must be refuted first and then only new conclusions can be established. Therefore I have been saying to everyone that the historian must have truth as the only guide. *So Study, Study and more Study is the best way for research and Truth must be stuck to at any cost.*

Gandhiji made experiments with Truth. I am not making any experiment with truth because truth is too high a thing and I am too small. ಸತ್ಯಂ ಜ್ಞಾನಂ ಆನಂದಂ—of these ಸತ್ಯಂ सत्यं Satyam is the first cardinal principle. ज्ञानं ಜ್ಞಾನಂ Jnanam is the second cardinal principle and last comes आनंद ಆನಂದ. Ananda is not a matter of much importance to me. To me ಸತ್ಯಂ Satyam is primary!

That is also symbolised in our mythologies. Krishna danced upon Kalinga Serpent. What is the symbolic meaning of this dance? Shankaracharya says, कालिंदी गति कालिशस्य मुहुर्नृत्यंतं and so on. Kalindi is Yamuna river and there is Kaliya serpent ಕಾಳೀಯಸರ್ಪ—This is the stream of history. He represents history with a thousand heads—full of poison. These heads shed poison and only a divine creature like Krishna could trample upon each head and make it harmless. So also Truth can do with the thousand heads of myths, miracles and fables and conquer them. That is the real philosophy of history in my view.

So to the historian and to the research scholar Truth—Study and Truth should be the guides.

S. A. N: Thank you. Dr. Sastry, for all the trouble you have taken.

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Dr. Srikantha Sastri as a Historian

B. SHEIK ALI

DR. Srikantha Sastry ranks among those very few renowned scholars of our country who have studied history all their life, and who believe in history as saints believe in God. It is their firm conviction that without adequate knowledge of history men and society would simply be lost on the unchartered sea of time. He believes that history is not the special preserve of professional historians, but the bread and salt of every single person with an active will. It is a stir, a force and a vibration of life in the reflective spirit which formulates clear and definite principles about the course of human progress. Few scholars of our country have viewed history in this light and it is a matter of pride that, Dr. Srikantha has built his entire structure of historical studies which are very extensive indeed in their scope, very exhaustive in treatment and profound in depth. There has been a radical change in recent years as to the proper approach to history and quite revolutionary in thought is Dr. Sastri who feels that the function of history is neither to love the past, nor to disregard the past, but to master the past with a view to making it the key in understanding the present.

Dr. Sastri applied these canons to his most favourite field of historical research namely Karnataka History. In the scientific study of the history of this region, he forms a vital link with other great pioneers such as Fleet, Elliot, Rice, Bhandarkar and Narasimhachar who revealed how much Karnataka has contributed to the main stream of Indian culture. In a way Dr. Sastri surpassed them all as he did not confine himself to a narrow field of specialisation, but touched almost every throbbing vein of Karnataka life, its arts and letters, philosophy and religion, history and culture, administration and politics, society and way of life and so on. The contribution of the earlier scholars had been the collection, elucidation and edition of the numerous lithic records, but no one had attempted a systematic study of literary sources, excepting perhaps Narasimhachar, and their full utilization in order to reconstruct the rich heritage of this land. It was Dr. Sastri who in his *Sources of Karnataka History* brought under one volume material, videly scattered, not only in Kannada, but also in Telugu, Tamil,

Sanskrit, Greek, Chinese, Persian and Marathi languages. He arranged them all in chronological order, so that scholars interested in the study of Karnataka history and culture may easily dip into this veritable mine of information.

Collection of the material and its proper elucidation and edition happen to be only one of the numerous achievements or Dr. Sastri. His unit of study in history is community or society or people and not individual or lithic records or literary sources. Society is the atom which constitutes the structure of history and this society will have limitless activity in several walks of life in case it wants to make progress. Dr. Sastri has examined in depth all such activities and more so of man's mind, man's intelligence and man's knowledge of his growth into orderly society or culture as relating to India in general and Karnataka in particular. This is the sum and substance of his most valuable contribution on *Proto-Indic Religion.* It is certainly a difficult field to deal with and none other than a great scholar with fullness of knowledge and profoundity of thought could venture into it. Although Comte had cried from the house top that the evolution of intellectual life was the basic of history and that the deeds of great statesmen and emperors, warriors and generals would touch only the fringe of history, we paid no need to his cry and did not realise that society was more important and more fundamental than the state. Toynbee drew our attention to the fact that really great periods of man are not those about which we read so much in history, as the rise and fall of great empires or even the accomplishment of great architecture or sculpture. On the other hand, history achieves greatness when depression and disintegration occur, which give rise to the mighty religions that satisfy the real need of man. Prince Siddhartha became the Buddha when he left his hearth and home, wife and child, pomp and pleasure and retired to a jungle. Islam was the product of a society that had fallen to the stage of an unprecedented ignorance and folly. To Toynbee great periods of man would not be when empires were built, but when great religions like Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam and Christianity rose and spread. Only in these periods, man begins to think of his relationship with the outside world, the whole universe, nature and fellowmen. Man becomes aware of himself and the search for purpose will start. The meaning of life is sought, and at some stage, he begins to ask whether he is unravelling his purpose through history. At this stage, history really contributes to the promotion of human understanding.

It is in this context that Dr. Sastri's important study on Proto-Indic Religion is to be examined. He has dived deep into all archaeological data, the vedic texts and the Puranas to reconstruct the ramification of Indic Religion. Religion is actually a point at which

the adherents are in touch with the infinitude of the Divine through the intermediary of an accumulating tradition. Perhaps no other religion is as rich in this accumulation of tradition as Hinduism and Dr. Sastri has made a thorough analysis of these traditions, each of which is so full of significance. The composition of society, the observance of religions, medical, astrological and magical rites, the various postures of the figurines, the role of the different classes of citizens, such as guardians, merchants, artisans, farmers, fisher folk, sailors, leather makers and the entire gamut of socio-economic structure are treated in their correct perspective on the basis of the original records. In other words, in this work, he has made a serious effort to understand the essence and soul of history which lies in analysing fully the character of both great and small men involved in the drama, their motives, successes and failures. There has been too much emphasis until now on important events, leaving small issues completely unattended. When history is being written, we are invited to look at it as a painting hung in a gallery without being too curious about what might have happened in the studio they came from. Many of the side issues are completely ruled out, because great events and personalities lay very heavy on our heads. The story begins to be organic, only when we plough through the smaller people and simple folk. Dr. Sastri has attempted to reconstruct the inner life of this strata of society, its economic, social and cultural development and the growth of ideas which are more congenial in promoting harmony in the vedic period than the study of higher ups in the government and their military and political problems. He does not believe in the dictum that history is mere past politics. Polybius and Thucydides in the ancient period and Green, Freeman and Seeley in the modern period think that the use of studying history was instruction in the art of politics, but Dr. Sastri does not subscribe to this view. On the other hand, he thinks that the modern man with his modernisation and industrialisation would not be able to achieve his destiny unless he gains an awareness of himself. History is not only the conserving, the remembering and the understanding of what has happened, but also the completing of what had happened. Since in man history is consciously lived, the completing of what has happened is also the attempt to carry it to what he calls perfection. Men of less incisive outlook of history would not see a pattern of absorbing interest in the petty details of Vedic and Puranic literature, but Dr. Sastri would perceive in them the development of a complex society which enables us to see the toil of centuries and the work of the multitudes of human beings trying to pass on to us a better life than they found it. History to him is the science of man in time, a study of change in humanity and a method of explaining the present with

reference to the past. This is what he has attempted to do in his very scholarly papers on "*Tantric Hieroglyphics*."[1] Here he says that Proto-Indic Religion had vital links with the Atharvan phase of the Vedic religion. Without going into the details of his researches it can safely be asserted that the present can never be understood without a clear and perfect understanding of the past.

In 1929 Dr. Sastri wrote a paper on Oswald Spengler's views on Indian Culture. Spengler of Germany is supposed to be one of the greatest thinkers of the twentieth century on the science of culture. He examined history in the light of eternity and not in terms of a man's life or even of a nation's life. He dealt with a profound subject called "Culture" which is defined as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society. He made a revolutionary impact on modern thought by his cyclical theory, which covered the behaviour of man from the dawn of history to the present day. According to him all great cultures go through the appointed course of youth, maturity and decline and each culture has its own form, idea, passion, life and death. It produce its own civilization, which is the last inevitable stage of its existence, characterised by decline, decay and disintegration. This is true of all cultures including Indian culture. If this theory were to be accepted in its entirety, Indian culture would no longer be a living force; it would be a thing of the past which was either dead or in the process of dying. No one had challenged this view so far as Indian culture was concerned until Dr. Sastri wrote a brilliant article in *New Era* in 1929. Dr. Sastri vehemently upheld the view that Indian culture was the dynamic energy which had never ceased to generate at any period of time the same dynamism though in more or less degree of intensity. At all stages of existence, India has been able to produce either a beautiful piece of art in stone or paint a thrilling picture on canvass or build an exciting system of philosophy that explains the ultimate reality or cosmic consciousness. It is true that the galaxy of brilliant stars in philosophy, science, literature art and painting, which India produced all belong to the ancient period prior to 1200 A.D., Great names in philosophy such as Asvaghosha, Vatsayayana, Sankara, Ramanuja all belong to the period prior to 1200 A.D., Great scientists such as Aryabhatta, Bramhagupta, Sridhara and Bhaskara; great philogists such as Panini, Patanjali, Bhartrihari and Vamana; great dramatists like Vishakhadatta, Bhasa, Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, all are concentrated in an earlier period. But this does not mean that the later period is all barren in either religious ferver or literary renaissance. The poets of Bhakti movement belong to all ages. Sarvajna

[1] QJMS, April 1960, Vol. LI, pp 11-25; July 1960, Vol. LI, pp. 90-3.

was a poet of democracy; like Robert Burns, who swore by his dictum "man is a man for all that". Allama Prabhu, Nijaguna Sivayogi, Akka Mahadevi, Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa and a host of others were all "God-intoxicated" souls, whose purity of heart, sincerity of soul, abundantment of formalities and equality for all, brought about a radical change in Karnataka. Likewise the Mughal period in the north witnessed both a harmonisation and a revival in religion. Several literary, philosophical, legal and theological works were written during this period. The Mughals erected buildings of supreme beauty such as the Red Fort, Moti Masjid and the Taj Mahal. Even in modern period, men like Tagore, Arvind Ghosh and Gandhiji are brilliant luminaries whose lustre would illumine the world canvass, making India still a centre of living culture. Therefore Spengler's Theory is completely exploded, thanks to Dr. Sastri who had the courage and conviction to raise his lonely voice against such a mighty mind of the Western world.

Coming to the treatment of history at Dr. Sastri's hand, we are happy to observe that he did not reduce history to rhetoric by the use of picturesque details in the narration of details. His purpose is not to enhance the effect, but to explain the phenomena. If history is regarded as an art, accuracy will be lost and history would become a branch of literature. History should have as its basis the strictest objectivity and dedication to truth. Truth and objectivity could be achieved by two ways, first, through a negative approach to eradicate errors, half truths and exaggerations which result from an insufficient acquaintance with facts, a prejudiced outlook or intense nationalism. Secondly, through a positive approach to repair omission, to reintegrate events or personalities into general framework of history. Judged by these two points of negative and positive approach, Dr. Sastri can easily be rated as a scientific historian, the fundamental basis of whose writings is characterised by historical objectivity and truth.

Dr. Sastri luckily chose a field of study which was relatively free from possible historical prejudices. Our ancient history is not subject to those controversies which rock the head of our medieval and modern historians because our earlier history does not suffer from national, patriotic, racial or linguistic prejudices. National and patriotic prejudices could become a grave danger especially when purely for political purposes we glorify a particular period at the expense of some other really valuable period. Dr. Sastri never became a victim of any such error as all periods of Indian history are equally worthy of attention to him. Secondly, he was not a prisoner in the hands of any set school of thought or theory or philosophy with the result that he did not view history through any coloured glasses. Bury regards Hegel, Comte and Marx as

having constructed iron beds into which they forced living victims. But Dr. Sastri never suffers from any such inhibition. His mind is free, his data is his guide and truth is his destiny. Historical writing is not an easy task. Its path is strewn with rough pebbles and prickly thorns which none but the most determined, patient and the painstaking pilgrims could cross. Any man could make history, but only great men can write history. It took only a few moments to finish Socrates, Jesus, Gandhiji and Kennedy, but it would take very long time and better brains to analyse the motives behind those measures.

A question could well be asked at this stage whether Dr. Sastri is completely free from a philosophy of his own so far as history is concerned. Although he agrees with Ranke that one should not inflict one's own views on readers but allow them to draw their own conclusions, there is a limit to the observance of this principle, and no one could possibly escape from some sort of philosophy of his own. Good history is not merely addition of details, interpretation of facts, and explanation of processes and conditions, but also philosophizing the ideas so that we may get at the essence and spirit of history by pressing the facts to yield historical juice. Turgot and Condorcet developed the idea of progress, a conception which heralded the dawn of true history bringing unity and synthesis to history. Likewise several other profound thinkers have advanced their own theories, such as Idealism by Hegel, Positivism by Comte, Unity of Spirit by Croce, Cyclical view by Spengler, Challenge and Response by Toynbee and Configuration of cultures by Kroeber. Dr. Sastri has not hit the world with any such well-defined system of philosophy, but one cannot help but perceive profound philosophical trends in his writings. He subscribes to the idea of progress which promotes the conception of the unity of history. He has looked beyond government to people, beyond laws to traditions and beyond religion to folklore and the arts. He has touched every intellectual, moral, material and emotional aspect of Indian life and society. He has come to the firm conclusion that our ancient past offers a set pattern, a set design or a style, the basis of which was moral or spiritual force. The driving energy of all actions in this country was the inner urge to know the higher reality. Man was always in contact with nature, the highest as well as the lowest manifestation of which prompted him every time to reflect beyond the apparent occurrences, to the dominant factors behind those happenings. India produced a set of patterns that prompted man to convert potential ability into creative energy that results in the orderly productivity of high class philosophy, sculpture, literature and music. This view presupposes that every historical phenomena has antecedents which in turn have antecedenst

and that every effect becomes a cause for the subsequent effect. It is the search for such antecedents that prompted Dr. Sastri to explore more and more like Niebuhr into our antiquity and find in it a rhythm, a design and a set philosophy. A thorough examination of the interaction between the individuals and environment led Dr. Sastri to spot the origin of our culture. All historical events possess individuality or uniqueness and hence they cannot be reduced to any uniformity. Dr. Sastri is very much aware of this phenomena and therefore he cast a very wide net to catch culture patterns of all degrees of consciousness and complexity. He has dealt with the simplest patterns explicit in dress, diet, work, salutation and handicraft and also on the highest form of culture patterns explicit in literature, arts, religion and philosophy. In short, Dr. Sastri perceives a single master key to our culture and that key is primarily ethical. He has not rejected the idea of God in revealing himself in history and he does not equate energy or progress as substitutes for God. He is in favour of pluralistic interpretation, depending upon the discovery of new data. Historical research is such a complex phenomena that no rigidity, no finality could ever be possible. He is not dogmatic. The subject he chose, the material he dealt with and the phenomena he tried to analyse were such that any final verdict was not possible, and that it wat likely to change every time a new data or new factors appeared on the scene. However, Dr. Sastri believes that evolution itself is a movement towards the desirable goal of goodness, piety and righteousness, which could all be summed up in that encyclopedic term "Dharma".

Lastly what is most appealing about Dr. Sastri is his modest humility. Such great scholarship sits so lightly on him. His child-like simplicity, purity of heart, and nobility of soul have never forsaken him at any conscious minute of his life. He appears to have faithfully followed what St. Augustine said long ago, "Do you wish to be great? Then begin by being little. Modest humility is beauty's crown." His devotion to duty led him to the cultivation of all his faculties to the best of his ability. His thirst for knowledge, his spirit of enquiry, seriousness of purpose and ceaseless pursuit of his goal enabled him to accomplish herculean tasks. He is such a painstaking scholar that he is a miracle of genius, because he has been a miracle of labour. In scores and scores of his research papers we find his abilities crystallised through that labour of love which could be the passion of any missionary. He believes in the dictum that obedience to duty at all costs and risks is the very essence of the highest civilised life, and that duty is one of Godhead's most benignant of the graces. Even at times when his physical faculties were not very much co-operative, he has remained such a devoted

crusader in the path of extending the horizon of historical knowledge that hardly any moment of his life was kept free from some useful activity. As his mind became more enlightened, his interests and responsibilities became more varied too. He was led constantly into new channels of historical research with the result that there is hardly any field in Karnataka History which he has not touched. India in general and Karnataka in particular have to make up a good deal of lost time in the discipline of history. But for Dr. Sastri we would have been poorer still. We wish him long life and good health so that a precious gem that has so long shed such lustre will continue to enrich the realm of history.

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Dr. Sastri's Works in Kannada

B. R. GOPAL

THE purpose of this paper is to acquaint readers, specially the non-Kannadigas, with Dr. Srikantha Sastri's works in Kannada. Numerous Kannada articles written by him have been published in various learned journals and in several special issues of daily newspapers, weeklies etc. Many in Karnataka still remember the great controversy he raised by publishing his work on Purandaradasa in 1964 during the great saint-poet's quarter centenary celebrations all over the State. In putting forth his views Dr. Sastri had entirely relied on that material that he had collected and was not swayed by any religious considerations.

His books in Kannada have been many. His essays on the great men of history (ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಮಹಾಪುರುಷರು) in a Text Book edited by Dr. M. H. Krishna more than 25 years ago have retained their popularity to this day. Since then Dr. Sastri has written profusely in Kannada: ಭಾರತೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ (Indian Culture), completed in 1944; ರೋಮನ್ ಚಕ್ರಾಧಿಪತ್ಯದ ಇತಿಹಾಸ (History of the Roman Empire, 1948-49); ಪ್ರಪಂಚ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯ ರೂಪರೇಖೆಗಳು (Outlines of World History, 1957) which is even today a very good text book for the undergraduate students; ಪುರಾತತ್ತ್ವ ಶೋಧನೆ (Archaeology, 1960); ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ವಾಸ್ತುಶಿಲ್ಪ (Hoysala Architecture, 1964) etc. This brief paper confines itself to an assessment of only three of Dr. Sastri's Kannada works viz., ಭಾರತೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ, ಪುರಾತತ್ತ್ವ ಶೋಧನೆ and ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ವಾಸ್ತುಶಿಲ್ಪ.

Bharatiya Samskriti (ಭಾರತೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿ) was written in the pre-independence years, in 1944 though it was published only a decade later in 1954. In the preface to the book, also written in 1944, he summarises briefly the contributions of India to world culture. By then Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West* had been published and Toynbee had put forward his challenge and response theory of cultures in his first few volumes of the study of History. These so-called philosophers of History, more specially Spengler, had forecast almost the end of human civilization and said that human society stood on the brink of destruction. Progress of science, Imperialism, Capitalism, weekness of religion and religious orders, Nationalism and the like were described by many of these philosophers as reasons for such a breakdown. Reviewing these

Dr. Sastri in his preface says that the entire problem could be analysed in three ways. Politically it was a conflict between Monarchy, Despotism and Democracy; economically there was a growing gap between the rich and the poor; ethically mutual suspicions, injustice, deceit among the nations and lack of freedom of action and thought in individual's life—these were the bases on which human civilization stood and which were now sinking. It was essential to find suitable answers for the problems that arose out of it and Dr. Sastri said that Indian Culture had in it the answer.

Nationalism and Science are mere tools that could be used both for the welfare and the destruction of world order. If culture is to be protected at all, these have to be kept under control. Nationalism adopts different forms depending upon the country, its religion, language and basic culture. Science is materialistic, belonging to the range of the senses and hence limited in its scope. It can create an atmosphere of physical pleasure or pain by understanding the physical world around us. It is earthy, and cannot satiate the inner urge for knowledge of the eternal the urge to live a cultured life. It creates civilization but cannot be a source of culure.

The word 'culture' isassociated with agriculture while civilization is associated with the urbane. Civilization has as its aim the establishment of some order—the social order as it could be called —in regulating the natural desires of mankind, for food, sleep, lust and fear, and the race among men for fulfilment of those desires. Culture on the other hand indicates the spiritua lprogress, of an individual or a group. After establishing social order, there should be sufficient freedom—liberty—for the individual as for the society without which culture and civilization cannot progress. Hence philosophers like Croce defined History as the story of liberty.

Four factors are essential for social progress and reform; they are economic, political, religious and the urge for knowledge, not only scientific but also of the ultimate. There are different cultures in the world each one of which has its own characteristic, an individuality. The contribution of Asia to World civilization and culture has been immense. Almost all the earliest civilizations have originated in this continent, and through Crete it has spread its impact over Greece and Rome and Modern Europe. Of these,Indian culture is unique. It has the great characteristic of absorption and assimilation. The main reason for this is not merely its toleration. Mere tolerant attitude towards other religions or culture and the like would often result in indifference and neglect. It is on the other hand a sense of appreciation of the good in the others which results in assimilation. One feature of Indian culture is that there is no despotism of the society over the individual who is free. Hence the individual has the scope to grow,

All this is due to the great seers of our country who have left behind a rich literature and whose knowledge has been transcendental, says Dr. Sastri. It is this that has sustained our culture which is *anadi* and *ananta*.

This book has 12 chapters and within 400 pages Dr. Sastri has made a survey of its physical features, pre-history, vedic culture, search for spiritual truth (i.e., Religions and Philosophy), social and economic conditions, political systems, literature and arts and sciences. In the last chapter there is an account Indian Culture outside India—what is generally called Greater India. Thus it is not merely an outline of 'history' but all other things too. Herein you have an account of all—from Anthropology to Zoology. It shows the extent and depth of knowledge of Dr. Sastri who is not only well read, but has assimilated all that he has read. *Bharatiya Samskriti* is the quintessence of Dr. Sastri's scholarship.

In 1960 the University published his *Puratattva Sodhane* ಪುರಾತತ್ತ್ವ ಶೋಧನೆ (Archaeology). This is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the general features, scope, aim and methods of Archaeology while the second relates to Indian Archaeology in particular. Giving an account of the progress in archaeological studies he shows how developments in geological and anthropological studies led to an interest in the archaeological, how Darwin's theory of evolution encouraged the scholars to brush aside the Biblical account of the 'universe' and how Pitt Rievers declared, most courageously in his days, that History is evolution. Dr. Sastri, in a lucid style describes the methods in archaeology, shows that archaeology is now a science and not mere antiquarian speculation. The use of Kannada terminology for explaining several technical terms like artifacts, type, typological classification, culture sequence are illuminating. He explains the methods of exploration and excavation, and of dating the artifacts; the interpretation is of course the last job of an archaeologist, but the most important. The learned author gives a succinct account of this 'job' of the archaeologist. Under archaeology, he includes epigraphy and numismatics also.

The second part of the book deals with Indian Archaeology. In this we find an evaluation of the work that has already been done, its lacunae and the huge amount of work that awaits scholar's touch in all the branches of archaeology. Basically, this is meant to be a text book in Kannada. But there is so much of originality in the presentation of the subject matter that none in the near future is likely to surpass this. Again, this book is a fitting answer to those who say that time is not ripe for writing books in Kannada, on technical and scientific subjects.

The latest of his Kannada books, *Hoysala Vastusilpa* (ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ

ವಾಸ್ತುಶಿಲ್ಪ–1964) is on Hoysala Architecture. In this work Dr. Sastri has given an account of the beginnings of Hoysala Architecture, which has imbibed the features of Chalukyan architecture and made further improvements. Hoysala architecture in one sense witnesses the culmination of Karnataka architecture and, although, later on, the Vijayanagara rulers adapted some of the features, yet that is a different style altogether. The Chalukyan style reaches the peak of plastic ornamentation under the Hoysalas. In the later Chalukyan temples in the districts of Chitradurga, Shimoga, Dharwar and Bellary. We can see some features which form the points of contact with the Hoysala temples. The introduction of figure sculpture as a decorative element in the wall, treatment of plinth mouldings, the star shaped plan, leaning bracket figures etc., that occur in the Somesvara temple, Gadag, the Doddabasappa temple, Dambal and the Mallikarjuna temple, Kuruvatti are such points of contact. These have been explained lucidly by the author.

The book is divided into two parts; in the first is given, as an introduction, a brief history of the Hoysalas and an account of Chalukyan architecture. Analysing the epigraphs of Vishnuvardhana recording grants to the temples etc., he has shown that 60 per cent of these refer to the grants made to Saiva temples, 20 per cent to the Vaishnava and the remaining 20 per cent to the Jaina. Hence, he says that there is no evidence to show that this king had greater leanings towards Vaishnavism. The statement made by Pallava Mahendravarma that he was the first to construct temples in stone has been shown to be an empty boast. On the other hand, the Pallavas were influenced by the Chalukyas in this respect. The turned pillars and decorative features indicate that Chalukya-Hoysala masonry was more the work of a carpenter and a goldsmith. No literary work on iconography or art appears to have been produced in the Hoysala period. The architects must have made use of texts of the earlier periods, like *Manasara*, *Abhilashitarthachintamani*. But it is not possible to say that the Vaikhanasa or Pancharatra agamas were followed for Vaishnava temples, the *Karanagama* or *Isanagurupaddhati* for Saiva and the Jaina puranas for the Jaina temples. Besides the kings and other royal personages and officials, ordinary citizens also got built temples according to their capabilities. Such ones may not be artistic or gorgeous; and on that ground they need not be dated prior to the Hoysala temples, when no other confirmatory evidence is available. Jakkana and Dankana are mere mythical figures and no sculptor of that name lived in the Hoysala period. In no other part of India do the names of the sculptors figure, except in Karnataka. These are some of the points made out herein.

In the second, third and fourth parts we find descriptive

accounts of both the major and minor Hoysala temples. Naturally enough the temples of Belur, Halebid and Somanathapur and those of Sravanabelagola have been treated in greater detail. Epigraphical and other evidences have been appropriately cited while discussing the dates of construction of the monuments or scooping of sculptures etc. This has made the volume authentic and all the relevant details given herein have been very useful for a student who wishes to pursue further studies in the subject, from the political, economic, social and artistic angles.

Bibliography

[Dr. S. Srikantha Sastri has written a good number of books on Indian History, Culture, Language and Literature. His research articles, reviews and occasional writings are more than 300 in number. He has written mainly in English and Kannada. A comprehensive bibliography of all these would have been of immense help to the students of Indian Culture. But the bibliography given here could not be made comprehensive enough as all the relevant details could not be secured.

Sri P. N. Narasimhamurthy, Lecturer in History, Bhuvanendra College, Karkala was kind enough to send us a list of Dr. Sastri's writings. Srimati Leela Subramanyam, Assistant Librarian, University Library, Mysore and some of our young friends were of assistance to us in preparing the bibliography for the press. Fortunately, Dr. Sastri himself had kept a list of his writings which he was kind enough to lend us. Moreover, Sri Manjunath, son of Dr. Sastri gave us two lists of about 200 articles and these lists also provided us with many necessary details. Our sincere thanks are due to all these friends who were of immense help to us in preparing this bibliography—Ed.].

Abbreviation Used

ABORI.	*Annals of Bhandarkar's Oriental Research Institute, Poona.*
DH.	*Deccan Herald, Bangalore.*
EI.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
IA.	*Indian Antiquary.*
IHQ.	*Indian Historical Quarterly.*
JA.	*Jaina Antiquary.*
JAHRS.	*Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.*
JRAS.	*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.*
NIA.	*New Indian Antiquary.*
QJMS.	*Quarterly Journal of Mythic Society.*
ಕಸಾಪ.	ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು.
ಪ್ರಜಾ.	ಪ್ರಜಾವಾಣಿ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು.
ಪ್ರಕ.	ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ, ಮೈಸೂರು.
Un. p.	*Unpublished*
ಅಪ್ರ.	ಅಪ್ರಕಟಿತ

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ಈ. ಮುನ್ನುಡಿಗಳು ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ

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ಉ. ಆಕಾಶವಾಣಿ ಭಾಷಣಗಳು

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Our Contributors

Acharya, K. V., Vidwan, Suratkal (S. K.).

Ananthanarayana, S., M.A., Department of English, Maharaja's College, Mysore.

Basavaraja, K. R., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of History, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Chidanandamurthy, M., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Kannada, Bangalore University, Bangalore.

Desai, P. B., M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture; Director, Kannada Research Institute (Retd.), Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Dikshit, G. S., M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History (Retd.), Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Gai, G. S., Ph.D., Chief Epigraphist to the Government of India, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

Gopal, B. R., M.A., Ph.D., Epigraphist, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Gururaja Bhat, P., M.A., B.T., Ph.D., Principal, Milagres College, Kallianpur, South Kanara.

Gururajachar, S., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Hanumantha Rao, G., M.A., Librarian (Retd.), University Library, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Hanumantha Rao, M., M.A., Assistant Epigraphist, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Krishnamurthy, M. S., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Hindi, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Krishnamurthy, M. S., M.A., Antiquity Assistant, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Krishnamurthy, V. G., Assistant Translator to the Government of Mysore (Retd.); Translation Bureau, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Krishnan, K. G., M.A., Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

Krishnayya, D. N., Education Officer (Retd.), Virajpet, Coorg District.

Lakshmana Rao, J. R., M.Sc., Chief Editor, English-Kannada Dictionary, Prasaranga, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Madhav N. Katti, M.A., Dip. in Arch., Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

Mahalingam, T. V., M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology (Retd.), University of Madras, Madras.

Marulasiddaiah, M.A., M.S.W., Lecturer, Department of Social Work, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Muddachari, B., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of History, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Murthy, P. N. N., M.A., Lecturer in History, Bhuvanendra College, Karkala.

Nagaraja Rao, M. S., M.A., Ph.D., Director of Archaeology, Mysore.

Nagaraja Rao, P., M.A., D.Litt., Tagore Professor of Humanities, Madras University, Madras.

Nagaraju, S., M.A., Lecturer, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Narasimhamurthy, A. V., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Nayak, H. M., M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head, Department of Kannada; Director, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Paramasivaiah, J. S., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Kannada, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Raghavachar, S. S., M.A., Professor and Head, Department of Philosophy, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Rajasekhara, S., M.A., Lecturer in History, Karnataka Arts College, Dharwar.

Ramakrishna Rao, K. B., M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Department of Philosophy, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Raman, K. V., M.A., M. Litt., Dip. in Arch., Ph.D., Deputy Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras.

Ramesh, K. V., M.A., Ph.D., Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

Rangaswamiah, G. R., M.A., Reader, Department of History, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Rao, S. R., M.A., Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, South-Western Circle, Aurangabad.

Rao, T. R., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Psychology, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Sastry, B. V. K., 42, II Cross, Srirampuram, Bangalore-20.

Seetharamaiah, M. V., M.A., Reader (Retd.), Department of Kannada, Bangalore University, Bangalore.

Settar, S., M.A., Ph.D. (Kar.), Ph.D. (Cantab), Professor of History, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Sheik Ali, B., M.A., Ph.D. (Alig.), Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of History, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Shivanna, M.A., Research Assistant, Department of History, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Shivanna, K. S., M.A., A.M. (USA), Lecturer, Department of History, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Shivaganeshamurthy, R. S., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Sanskrit, University Evening College, Mysore.

Shivaramaiah, B. K., M.A., Reader, Department of Sanskrit, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Soundararajan, K. V., M.A., Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Southern Circle, Madras.

Srinivas Ritti, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Srinivasan, G., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Philosophy, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Sundara, A., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Karnatak University, Dharwar.

Surendra Rao, B., M.A., Research Scholar, Department of History, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Tipperudra Swamy, H., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Kannada, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Tippeswamy, P. R., Folk-lore Museum, Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Upadhyaya, U. P., M.A., Ph.D., Research Officer, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore.

Upadhye, A. N., M.A., D.Litt., Professor of Jainology and Prakrits, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Varadaraja Rao, G., M.A., Ph.D., Reader, Department of Kannada, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Vasantha, R., M.A., Research Scholar, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Mysore, Mysore.

Venkatachala Sastry, T. V., M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Department of Kannada. University of Mysore, Mysore.

